

JOURNAL
OF
THE INDIAN SOCIETY
OF
ORIENTAL ART



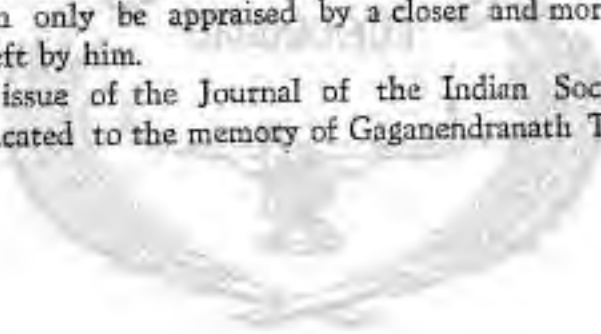
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IN MEMORIAM
GAGANENDRANATH TAGORE

With the death of Gaganendranath Tagore on the 14th February 1938, the Indian Society of Oriental Art has lost not only one of its founders but a great artist, who from the very inception of the Society had led the Society's activities through various phases of development for more than thirty years. His untiring zeal, rare judgment, and outstanding mastery in various forms of art were always admired by those true lovers of art who came in touch with his work. The gap left in the social and cultural life of this country and the loss felt by the artist's community can only be appraised by a closer and more intimate study of the works left by him.

The next issue of the Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental art will be dedicated to the memory of Gaganendranath Tagore.



JOURNAL
OF
THE INDIAN SOCIETY
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DEDICATED TO A. K. COOMARASWAMY
ON HIS SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY

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PHOTO BY ELAYA COONAMASWAMY

Ak Chomaraswamy

INTRODUCTION

By SIR WILLIAM ROTHENSTEIN

India, and those who have come to value the genius of India, owe much to Ananda Coomaraswamy. Together with Havell, he drove away the smoke-clouds which had too long obscured the splendid achievements of Indian sculptors, painters and builders. The art of Greece and of Italy had alone, to European—and indeed to Indian—eyes counted as great art. Only when Western scholars could detect Greek influence in Indian carving and painting was their interest awakened. They failed to estimate, for example, the superb qualities, the overwhelming power of the Brahmanistic sculpture.

In his writings Coomaraswamy called insistent attention to the purely Indian character of the Indian genius. He had early discovered the peculiar beauty of the Rajput and Kangra paintings, more spiritual, hence more truly Indian, than those of the Mughal artists. Hitherto only Chinese, Japanese and Persian art had been regarded as "Fine Art." In addition to his steadfast championing of painting, building and sculpture, Coomaraswamy's all embracing perceptiveness made him the sensitive interpreter of the subtle spirit of Indian literature and music. He collected folk-songs from the Punjab; translated folk-poetry, interpreted the symbolic character of the Indian dance. His sympathy with the vision of the Indian Nationalists caused him to loosen his ties with England and America has had the benefit of his wide scholarship and understanding. But his writings have given him a secure place among Oriental scholars in East and West. To-day, if India takes her due rank as a first-class artistic power, it is in large measure owing to Coomaraswamy.

STYLISTIC VARIETIES OF EARLY WESTERN INDIAN MINIATURE PAINTING ABOUT 1400 A. D.

By W. NORMAN BROWN

The best miniature paintings of the Early Western Indian (or "Jaina" or "Gujarati") school seem to have been executed shortly before and after 1400, say roughly from about 1350 to 1450, at the time when paper was supplanting palm-leaf as the surface for writing in Gujarat.¹ The illustrated manuscripts, of whatever quality, which can be assigned definite dates during that hundred years are comparatively few; but those few with other dated illustrated manuscripts from before and after that span, provide fixed points between which other, undated, material can on stylistic grounds be arranged so as to show the existence and development of several variant styles side by side. The primary interest of this paper is to indicate the sequence in the development of the one style (A), with its two sub-varieties (A, 1; A, 2), which I think at that time shows the best examples of the whole Early Western Indian school; but I shall at the same time point out the chain of development of another style (B) contemporary with it.

The more important (A) of the two styles may be considered to start with the earliest known examples of the school, namely the two paintings appearing in palm-leaf manuscript 6.2, of the *Jñāta Sūtra* and next three *aṅgas* of the *Śvetāmbara* canon, with the commentary of Abhayadeva, executed in 1127 A. D., and now lying in the *Śāntinātha* temple (Nagin Das) *bhaṇḍār* at Cambay (reproduced in my *Kālaka*, figures 1 and 2). One of the paintings is reproduced in figure 1 of this article. The sequence of

1. Cf. in my *Kālaka* (=The Story of Kālaka, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1933), p. 20f. Mr. S. M. Navab, of Ahmedabad, who has combed the *Śvetāmbara* Jaina manuscript collections of Gujarat and Rajputana, told me in India that he had not seen any dated palm-leaf manuscript from later than Vikrama Samvat 1438 (=A. D. 1401).

this style runs from these early examples through the paintings accompanying a manuscript of Hemacandra's *Nemicaritra* (see my *Kālaka*, figures 3 and 4); then a manuscript of the *Sāvagapāḍikamaṇasutta*, executed in 1260 A. D., now belonging to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (see my *Kālaka*, figures 5 and 6 in full colour); and manuscript 42 of the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakācāryakathā*, dated=1279 A. D., belonging to the *Sanghākā bhaṇḍār*, Patan (see my *Kālaka*, figures 9 and 10). During the latter half of the 13th century preserved paintings show two varieties of this style. One (A, 1) is that which is illustrated in the examples cited above; the other (A, 2) is illustrated in manuscript 234 of the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakācāryakathā* executed in 1278 A. D., belonging to the *Sanghavikēpāḍāka bhaṇḍār*, Patan (see my *Kālaka*, figures 7 and 8). Both these varieties of the style have successors in the 14th and 15th century, and among those successors appear the best paintings, in my opinion, of the whole Early Western Indian school.

A, 1. In the first sub-variety the relative lack of complication in the composition and in the ornamentation, which we see in the earlier examples, continues with only slight change. The background remains simple, without much accessory detail in the way of architecture and room hangings. The number of figures appearing in a scene is kept as low as possible. The costume designs may be rich, but the elaborate weaving and embroidery of the textiles and the intricacies of the jewellery are suggested rather than indicated with precision. The lines are painted with very few of the thin strokes which appear in the other sub-variety; many lines, in fact, are done with thick strokes.

The peak of this sub-variety is reached in six illustrations to a manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakācāryakathā*, dated *Vikrama Samvat* 1427 (A. D. 1370), belonging to the *Mukti Vijayajī Jñāna bhaṇḍār*, at the *Ujjamjī Dharmaśālā*, Ahmedabad.² The paintings measure about two inches or

2. At the conclusion of the *Kalpasūtra* text the copying date is given as *Samvat* 927; see in my *Kalpasūtra* (=Miniature Paintings of the Jaina *Kalpasūtra*, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1934), p. 2, footnote, where I remarked upon this manuscript on the basis of reproductions furnished me from India. But when I saw the entire manuscript in Ahmedabad in 1934, I found the date in the colophon to the *Kālakācāryakathā* given as *Samvat* 1427. The latter date is clearly correct, on palaeographical grounds as well as others, and the date at the end of the *Kalpasūtra* text should also be 1427, not 927. It was probably meant to be 1427, but the scribe was careless and ran the 1 and 4 together, with the result that they look like the single numeral 9.

slightly more in depth ; two of the six are illustrated in figures 2 and 3 of this article. The drawing of these paintings is absolutely sure ; the full and steady curves flow from a brush that never wavered, directed by an eye that knew no self-doubt. The paintings are entirely intellectual, with little emotional warmth ; the conventions of the style are faithfully observed ; yet in spite of the angularity of bodily pose, which the tradition demands, the figures achieve an alertness, rather than a posturing, which falls just short of vitality.

Without enumerating a great many other, paper, manuscripts belonging to this sub-variety, I shall point to only one painting following the palm-leaf examples I have just illustrated. This is a picture of the god Kāma, our figure 4, appearing on the first page of a manuscript of the *Ratirahasya*, belonging to Mr. S. M. Nawab of Ahmedabad, who kindly allowed me to photograph it. The drawing of this painting is only a shade less competent than that of the preceding illustrations which I have cited (in figures 2 and 3), and the thick line sometimes appears to be shaded, although I believe unintentionally. The manuscript is undated ; but its page dimensions, which are $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, give a ratio closer to the ratio of the dimensions of palm-leaf manuscripts than do the ratios of the dimensions of paper manuscripts of the 16th century, which are inclined to be about $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches or thereabouts or even larger. The appearance of the page, which marks the conventional spots for the stringhole and marginal numeration of the palm-leaf manuscripts with plain red dots rather than with the festooned lozenges common in 16th century illustrated manuscripts, joins with the ratio of page dimensions to indicate the early 15th century as the date when the manuscript was manufactured. The painting belongs to the same milieu as do the illustrations to the *Vasanta Vilāsa*, which are done with the relatively thick lines of this sub-variety rather than with the fine lines of the other sub-variety, and have not the abundance of purely accessory detail that also marks that other sub-variety. The *Vasanta Vilāsa* (of 1451 A. D.), like this painting of the *Ratirahasya*, represents Kāma in costume much like that of a king, yet without a halo, and wearing a well-developed black beard.³ The *Vasanta Vilāsa* paintings

3. See in N. C. Mehta, *Gujarati Painting in the Fifteenth Century*, London, The India Society, 1931, pp. 14 and 15. Mr. Mehta reproduces no painting showing Kāma, but in the manuscript itself, as I have seen, the god is represented in a type strikingly similar to that of the *Ratirahasya*.



give a reality to Kāma's motions that is hardly achieved in this painting, where the emphasis is on an ideal dance posture, and Kāma's body is better modelled there than here; as is also Mahāvīra's body in our figure 7, of the next sub-variety.

A, 2. The second sub-variety of this style has examples of even higher quality than does the first. This variety, in the oldest examples that I have identified, is distinguished from the first by having an increased number of lines in the drawing, by using on the whole finer lines, and by multiplying the accessory details. The earliest instances of the sub-variety known ~~to me~~ are those from A. D. 1278 reproduced in my *Kālaka* (Figures 7 and 8). The next dated examples that I want to assign to that sub-variety are scenes from the life of Pārśva painted on the wooden covers of a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Dharmopadeśamālā* by Maladhārī Hemacandra Sūri, belonging to Mr. S. M. Nawab, of Ahmedabad, with whose permission I photographed the entire series of scenes. The covers measure $35\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches, with variation, and are dated in Vikrama Samvat 1425 (A. D. 1368), as is also the manuscript, so Mr. Nawab informed me (I did not myself see the manuscript). I illustrate a section of one of the covers in figure 5. The use of fine line has not developed very far, and in many respects the painting is close to that shown above in figures 2 and 3, from a palm-leaf manuscript of A. D. 1370, which is nearly contemporaneous with this and belongs, in my opinion, to variety A, 1; but the architectural and ornamental detail of this painting is so marked that I think the covers belong to variety A, 2. There are definite attempts at shading in the treatment of the king's and queen's bodies.⁴

In this same sub-variety also belongs a manuscript of the *Kalpasūtra* owned by the Sheth Ānandajī Maṅgalajī Peḍhīnā Jñāna bhaṇḍār at Idar, illustrated in figures 6 and 7. The manuscript is of 109 folios, with 34 paintings, and is undated. Mr. C. J. Shah calls it "thirteenth century,"⁵ but

4. In painting these covers, the artist first laid on a white base, then made his drawings and applied his colours. The colours are a red background, with all figures in yellow, except Pārśva, who has his traditional colour of green. Green is also used for trees, in the women's bodices, and elsewhere in clothes. The paintings contain some black. On the reverse, that is, the outside, of the covers are flower designs—red background, with yellow flowers and leaves, except that the leaves are often lightly overlaid with dark green.

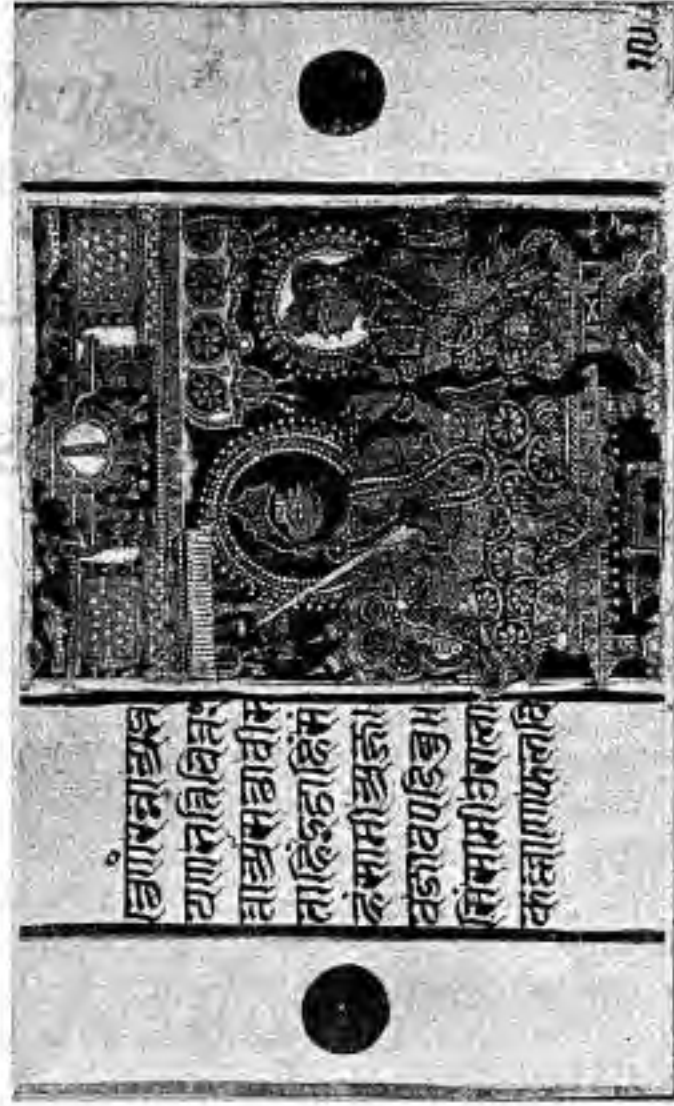
5. *Jainism in North India 800 B. C.—A. D. 525* (1933). Mr. Shah offers no reason for his dating. He gives five illustrations in full colour, and other illustrations in colour from this manuscript appear in the edition of the *Kalpasūtra* published as no. 82 of the Sheth Devchand Lalibhai Jain Pustakodhhar Series. This latter volume also reproduces, but not in colour, the first and last pages of the manuscript.

I cannot believe that this dating is correct. All other known 13th century illustrated manuscripts from western India contain very few paintings to a text; except for this manuscript, it is only in the paper manuscripts of the 15th century that any large number begin to appear. Also, these paintings, though small (about $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth), are stylistically the most complicated of all the known palm-leaf manuscript paintings, and would therefore naturally be expected to come at the end of the palm-leaf period, rather than a century or more before its close. Further, a number of the paintings use gold as a pigment. This is, as far as my observation goes, the only palm-leaf manuscript which uses gold as a pigment; other than it we find gold first in manuscript illustrations in 15th century paper manuscripts. It is a not unreasonable assumption that Indians learned to use gold in this way from the Persians.⁶ For these various reasons I believe that the Idar manuscript was made close to the end of the 14th century.

In this manuscript the compositions of the paintings are worked out with the most elaborate care and profusion of detail, as is evident even when the paintings are enlarged to almost three times the original diameter. Personal ornaments and architectural settings are minutely finished, and the fine lines, as in the case of Śakra's and Mahāvīra's beards, might have been done with a single-hair brush. The paintings have an emotional, as well as an intellectual, quality.

When we cross the 1400 A. D. mark and reach the period of paper for writing in western India and the use of illustrated paper manuscripts, we find many examples, of which possibly the best series is in a Kalpasūtra shown me in Ahmedabad by the monk Mahārāj Vallabha Sūri. The manuscript is undated, but again because of the appearance of the page, of the fact that the writing is not so large as in typical 16th century (or late 15th century) Kalpasūtras and appears on the page in eight instead of seven lines, of the use of red in the backgrounds of the paintings, without blue, and of the simplicity of the string-hole and marginal numeral rubrications, I think that the manuscript should be assigned to the first half of the 15th century. Our figures 8 and 9, showing paintings from this manuscript, illustrate the great profusion of detail, even greater than that of the Idar

6. Cf. E. Blochet, *Muselman Painting XIIth-XVIIIth Century* (London, Methuen and Co., 1929), pp. 63, 90.



palm-leaf manuscript paintings. The drawing and compositional effects are, I think, the best I have seen in the Early Western Indian school.

Other paintings belonging to the same sub-variety may also be those of a Kalpasūtra manuscript, of 139 folios, belonging to the Hamsavijaya Jñāna bhaṇḍār, Baroda, of which I give examples in figures 10 and 11. The page dimensions, which are $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, suggest the early 15th century, when this shape and proportioned manuscripts occur.⁷ The ornate marginal designs seem to be composed of elements which are largely Indian rather than Persian.⁸ I believe, therefore, that we may consider this manuscript also to be of the first half of the 15th century. The sprinkling of dots on Nemi's mother's bodice and the plentiful use of white ornaments on Nemi as he sits in the Siddhasilā produce a general effect like that in the paintings just previously discussed (figures 8 and 9). Another manuscript with illustrations in this style is that from which an example is reproduced in full and accurate colour in my Kālaka, figure 22; the manuscript is undated, but for reasons mentioned in the text accompanying the reproduction may well be of the first half of the 15th century.

B. The other style of Early Western Indian miniature painting never achieves the careful detail of the second sub-variety of the first style. The earliest examples of it that I know appear in manuscript no. 1155 of the Vīravijayajī Śrī Jaina Śvetāmbara Jñāna Mandir bhaṇḍār at Chāpi, a few miles outside of Baroda. I illustrate examples from it in figures 12 and 13. This palm-leaf manuscript is dated Vikrama Samvat 1218 (A. D. 1161), and contains 227 folios, measuring about 15 by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, including seven works (Ogha Nirukti and others), with 21 illustrations interspersed among them, of which 16 are of the Jain Vidyādevīs. The lines in these paintings are not such smooth-flowing curves as are those of the paintings in style A; rather they consist of parts joined angularly. There is a characteristic treatment of the eyes, which are not drawn as a pair on a continual horizontal axis, as is either the case or nearly the case with the examples of style A, but are drawn on separate axes at different levels, so that at the nose the inside corner of one eye is considerably below the level of the inside corner of

7. Cf. in my Kālaka, p. 21.

8. For marginal ornamentations of a Kalpasūtra, which are entirely Persian in character, see an article by me entitled "A Jaina Manuscript from Gujarat Illustrated in Early Western Indian and Persian Styles," *Ars Islamica* 1937, pp. 154-172.

the other. There is sometimes shading, as in figure 13, which is accomplished by using colour and a shaded line.

The same style, less expertly handled, appears in 23 paintings that are scattered through a lengthy palm-leaf manuscript of 267 folios, containing the *Subāhucaritra* and eight other caritras, lying now in the Sanghavin Pado bhaṇḍār, Patan. The manuscript is dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1345 (A. D. 1288) ; the paintings are about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in depth. I show the two paintings accompanying the *Rāmalakṣmaṇacaritra*, figures 14 and 15.

A more interesting series is that illustrating scenes from the life of Mahāvīra appearing on another pair of painted wooden covers for a manuscript of the *Sūtrakṛtāṅgavṛtti*, belonging to Mr. S. M. Nawab, of Ahmedabad, who courteously allowed me to photograph them. The covers measure $34\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 inches, with variations, and are not themselves dated. But the manuscript which they enclose was copied in Vikrama Saṃvat 1456 (A. D. 1399), and the covers may be considered to be of the same date. I illustrate a section of the inside of one board in figure 16 of this article. These covers show far less ornamentation and less careful detail than appeared in the other covers cited above under style A.2 (see figure 3), and they should be considered to represent a stylistic continuation of the type of workmanship illustrated in the paintings of the Chāṇī manuscript (see figures 14 and 15).

From the period when paper was used for writing in Gujarat, that is, after 1400 A. D., there comes a small manuscript with two illustrations belonging to the Heeramanek Galleries, New York, and Mr. Heeramanek has kindly given me a photograph of one of the paintings (see figure 17).

The facts about this manuscript are, I believe, ascertainable with a fair degree of accuracy, but they are not obvious from immediate casual inspection. The manuscript consists of nine folios, all but the first being with text on each side. The folios bear three sets of numbers. One set appears in the red dots in the middle of the right hand margin, and runs from 728 to 736. Another set running from 1 to 9, appears, or rather once did appear, at the bottom right hand corner of each folio : of these numbers all but Nos. 1 and 2 are either erased or broken off. The third set appears at the lower left hand corner of the right hand margin, and runs from 719 to 726, then skips to 728, which last is an obvious careless mistake for 727. These three sets of numerals seem to



10



11



12



13

india following history. The manuscript was originally written as
 a work including many other texts, as was the case with
 the texts mentioned above in this article containing the paintings
 representing my figures 12, 13, 14 and 15. The first set of numerals is
 that which was given the work in that collection, and is the set appearing
 in the red dots, where folio numbers were often written in early manus-
 cripts. At some time the nine folios of this small manuscript were taken
 from the large collection, and were given separate pagination from 1 to 9,
 and the numerals were written at the lower right hand corners of the
 folios, where numerals are often placed. Still later, the manuscript was
 included in another long collection; at that time the small separate
 numerals from 1 to 9 were erased, and new numerals were given, which
 are those running from 719 to 726, then skipping to 728; but since the
 usual places for writing numerals were now occupied, the new set of
 numerals was written in the rather unusual place of the left hand corner of
 the right hand margin.

The folios measure almost exactly 10 inches by 3 inches. The text
 is continuous and contains material dealing with the *Avaśyaka* performances
 (ritualistic actions), which monks should perform regularly every day
 and laymen at less frequent intervals. The language is Prakrit, with
 occasional bits of Sanskrit. It starts with the 'namaskāras' (formulae
 of adoration), and elaborates them with a 'vandanakasūtra' (text of
 worship or praise). When this is concluded on folio 4 verso, there is
 mention of the 'sāmāyika' (ritual of restraint from passion), and then comes
 the 'pratikramaṇa' (confession and repentance of sins), running to folio 7
 recto, with a couple of lines of 'śrāvaka-pratikramaṇa' (confession and repen-
 tance of sins for laymen). On that same page (folio 7 recto) starts the last
 section, which is entitled 'pratikramaṇastuti' (praise of confession and repen-
 tance), which is the most important part of the text as far as concerns the
 paintings. This is in thirty stanzas; it begins with the words 'jaya tihuyāṇa-
 varakapparakkha' ("Victory, O wishing tree of the three worlds"), and ends,
 in literal transcription, 'iya muṇivaru siriabhaya-deva vinnavai aṇṇṇḍiya'
 ("Thus proclaimed the best of muṇis, the reverend Abhayadeva, now in
 heaven").

The two paintings are on folio 1 verso and folio 2 recto, and face each-
 other. That on folio 1 verso, which is that reproduced in figure 17, is of

Pārśvanātha, showing him in his proper colour green, with the serpent sheltering him. The other painting is of a monk ^{headed} which is the typical manner of showing a monk (see my Ka 82, page 39). This latter painting is labeled, 'śrījinavarddha' ^{'tt.a'} but the handwriting is not the same as that of the text, and I believe the ascription is wrong. Some user of the manuscript noticed that in line 4 of folio 1 verso Jinavardhanasūri is mentioned, and he hastily concluded that the picture was of him. The painting, I believe, is meant to represent Abhayadeva, of the Kharatara gaccha of the Śvetāmbara Jains, who was writing commentaries on the Jain scriptures in the early part of the 12th century A. D. His legend is summarized by Klatt (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. 11, p. 248): "By excessive self-torture he became leprous, his hands fell off, but he was healed by a miracle. By the Jayatihuyanastotra he called forth an image of Pārśva, near Sthambhanaka" [= Cambay]. This must be the very 'pratikramanastuti' of our manuscript, which starts with those words (see above) and is ascribed by the text to Abhayadeva. That would make it highly probable—I should say certain—that the two paintings in the manuscript are meant to represent the image of Pārśva which Abhayadeva called forth and Abhayadeva himself.

The mention of Jinavardhanasūri in the text is important because it gives a date before which this undated manuscript could not have been manufactured. Klatt gives the facts about him (*loc. cit.*, p. 249) in reporting the line of pontiffs of the Kharatara sect: "At first Jinavardhanasūri had been appointed successor to Jinarāja, Samvat 1461 [= A. D. 1404], but on account of a breach of the fourth 'vrata' [vow of chastity] he was pronounced unworthy, and his place was given to Jinabhadra, Samvat 1475 [A. D. 1418]The abovementioned Jinavardhanasūri founded, Samvat 1474 [A. D. 1417] the Pippalakakharataraśākhā,—the fifth gacchabheda." It would seem, therefore, that A. D. 1404, when Jinavardhana was made sūri, or pontiff, is the earliest possible date for the manuscript; probably it is later than A. D. 1417, when he founded his sub-sect. I am inclined to think it likely that the manuscript was made still later, but just how much later it is obviously impossible to say.

The relative proportions of the page of this manuscript, the size of the writing, the number of lines, the comparative simplicity of the page, the use of red backgrounds for the paintings, with comparatively little blue.



the absence of gold, and instead the use of yellow—all point to the first half of the fifteenth century, but are not absolute indications. I believe that somewhere around 1450 is the probable date of manufacture.

The drawing of this painting is like that in figures 14 and 15: see especially the small figures on the sides of Pārśva; and I consider that it belongs in the same sub-group with them (B).

In endeavouring to distinguish between the sub-varieties of Early Western Indian painting, I should not want to imply that the three I have mentioned were strictly marked off from one another. There must have been mutual influence: note the similarity of textile design (harpas) in figure 2, of my group A, 1, and figures 7 and 8, of my group A, 2. My classification indicates only a moderate degree of independence.

Titles of Illustrations :

- Pl. I, Fig. 1. A Jain goddess, from a palm-leaf MS of 1127 A. D., Cambay.
 Fig. 2. Birth of Mahāvīra, from a palm-leaf MS of 1370 A. D., Ahmedabad.
 Fig. 3. Mahāvīra's bath at birth, from a palm-leaf MS of 1370 A. D., Ahmedabad.
 Fig. 4. The god Kāma, puṣpadhama, from a paper MS of the Rāṭhahasya, undated, probably first half of the 15th century, collection of S. M. Nawab, Ahmedabad.
 Fig. 5. Scenes from the life of Pārśva, from a painted wooden cover of a palm-leaf MS, of 1368 A. D., collection of S. M. Nawab, Ahmedabad. From left to right: (1) part of 'Queen Vāśudevi sees the 14 wonderful dreams' (the fire is missing); (2) King Aśvasena and Queen Vāśudevi listen to a soothsayer expounding the dreams; (3) part of birth scene of Pārśva.
- Pl. II, Fig. 6. Śakra's song of praise at Mahāvīra's conception, from a palm-leaf MS of the Kalpasūtra, Idar, not dated, probably last half of the 14th century.
 Fig. 7. Mahāvīra gives away his possessions before leaving the world, from a palm-leaf MS of the Kalpasūtra, Idar, not dated, probably last half of the 14th century.
 Fig. 8. Queen Trīśālā lying on her bed, from a paper MS of the Kalpasūtra, Ahmedabad, not dated, probably first half of the 15th century.
 Fig. 9. Queen Trīśālā relates the fourteen wonderful dreams to King Siddhārtha, from a paper MS of the Kalpasūtra, Ahmedabad, not dated, probably first half of the 15th century.
- Pl. III, Fig. 10. Birth of Ariṣṭanemi, from a paper MS of the Kalpasūtra, Baroda, not dated, probably first half of the 15th century.
 Fig. 11. Ariṣṭanemi in the Siddhāśilā, from a paper MS of the Kalpasūtra, Baroda, not dated, probably first half of the 15th century.
 Fig. 12. The goddess Oṅkreśvārī, from a Jain palm-leaf MS of 1161 A. D., Chhapl.
 Fig. 13. The goddess Kālī, from a Jain palm-leaf MS of 1161 A. D., Chhapl.
- Pl. IV, Fig. 14. Scene from the Rāmākṣyaṇaparitrā, from a Jain palm-leaf MS of 1268 A. D., Patan.
 Fig. 15. Scene from the Rāmākṣyaṇaparitrā, from a Jain palm-leaf MS of 1268 A. D., Patan.
 Fig. 16. Scenes from the life of Mahāvīra, from a painted wooden cover of a palm-leaf MS of 1369 A. D., collection of S. M. Nawab, Ahmedabad. From left to right: (1) part of scene showing King Siddhārtha and Queen Trīśālā in conversation; (2) probably Siddhārtha and Trīśālā in

palace with Mahāvīra (? piles of jars as symbols of prosperity) ; (3) Mahāvīra gives away his possessions before leaving the world ; (4) a bearer of Mahāvīra's initiation palanquin.

Fig. 17. Image of the Tīrthañkara Pārśva evoked by Abhayadevasūri with the Jayatīrthyagastotra, from a paper MS, not dated, but probably of around 1450 A. D., belonging to the Heermans Gallery, New York.



INDIAN VOTIVE AND MEMORIAL COLUMNS

By JITENDRA NATH SANERJEA

The Manusamhitā lays down that 'he who destroys a 'saṃkrama,' a 'dhvaja,' a 'yaṣṭi' and a 'pratimā,' shall repair the whole damages and pay 500 'paṇas' as fine¹. The words 'dhvaja' and 'yaṣṭi' in the verse have been translated by Bühler on the authority of the commentators of Manu, as the 'flag (of a temple or royal place)' and a 'pole' respectively². The particular context in which these words are used may have some justification for the latter to explain the words in that manner³. The word 'dhvaja,' however, whether associated with the word 'stambha' or not, possessed a technical sense of a flag-staff or free standing column associated with temples or shrines of different sectarian divinities and thus can be correctly translated as a 'votive column'⁴. This sense might have been secondarily acquired by it on account of the special purpose it served, viz. the bearing of the 'lāñchana' or banner associated with a particular divinity. The word 'yaṣṭi', primarily signifying a pole came to possess such connotations as a 'memorial pillar', the 'flagstaff of a village' (Nārāyaṇa), or 'such as stand in tanks and the like' (Kulluka). Thus, these two terms 'dhvaja' and 'yaṣṭi'

1. Manusamhitā, ix, 285 : 'Saṃkramadhvajayaṣṭiṇṣṭa pratimāṇāṃ paṇaśchadaḥ/ Pratikuryāca tatar-
vaṇa pañca dadyāśchatāśca.'

2. S. B. E., vol. xxv, p. 393 and f. n.

3. It is interesting to note that Kulluka explains the word 'pratimā' in the above 'śloka' as 'small earthen coes' (kṣudrā mṛmayyādayaḥ) and emphasises the less valuable nature of the 'dhvaja', 'yaṣṭi' and 'pratimā' in the verse while commenting on another 'śloka' (ix, 280) where Manu ordains death punishment without any consideration for those who destroy 'koṣṭhāgāra', 'āyudhāgāra' and 'devatāgāra' and who steal elephants, horses and chariots : 'rājasaṃhāndhī dhyāyāśāṣṭiṇ dhanāgārāyudhagṛhayordevapratimāgṛhasya ca bahudhanaryāyāśāṣṭhyasya viṇāśakāḥ hastyaśvarathasya cāpahartṛṇa śighrameva hanyāt/ Yattu saṃkrama-
dhvajayaṣṭidevatāpratimābhedinaḥ pañcaśatadaṇḍam vaksyati so' smādeva devatāgārabhedakasya vadhavi-
dhānāṃ mṛgayapujitojjhita devatāpratimā viṣayo 'tra draṣṭavyaḥ'.

4. Dr. P. K. Acharya, in his 'Dictionary of Indian Architecture' associates the 'dhvaja-stambhas' mainly with the Śivites, but as we shall see later, on these were equally well associated with other sectarian divinities like Viṣṇu, Gaṇapati, Śūrya, and others.

come to signify upright columns associated with particular rites and customs of the Indian people.

The earliest reference to free standing columns, not necessarily votive or memorial in character is to be found in the words 'skambha,' 'sthūpā' and 'upamit' ; (the words 'dhvaja' and 'yaṣṭi' in the sense being conspicuous by their absence). The first word literally means support and as such it has been idealised in some mystic verses of the Atharvaveda where it is described as the root of all things and as such the greatest 'brahma' ('jyeṣṭha brahma')⁵. The meaning of the words 'sthūpā' and 'upamit' are quite clear, however, in the early and late Vedic texts and they denote an upright column⁶. The former, in some cases, was associated with Vedic funeral rites where there is distinct reference to the insertion of a 'sthūpā', (at first a wooden one) into the burial mounds below which the remains of the dead were placed⁷. The word 'stambha' came to be used in the sense of a pillar in late Vedic texts such as Kāthaka Saṃhitā (XXXI,1), and afterwards. Another term 'yūpa' in the Vedic period denoted upright posts which were used for tying the sacrificial animals ; but these posts were especially enjoined to be made of wood and the Kātyāyana śrautasūtra (VI,3) gives us a detailed description of the proper procedure for the selection of particular types of wood for this purpose. But it will be shown later on that this term also came to acquire the significance of stone columns erected by royal personages to commemorate the different sacrifices performed by them.

The stone columns bearing the edicts of Aśoka and other royal personages do not fall under the category of the votive columns properly, though the various animal figures which they bear on their top are probably 'dhvajās' or 'lāñchanas' having some mystic association with the cult of

5. A. V. X. 7 ; in the earlier references to 'skambha' in the R. V. (I. 84,2 ; IV. 13,5), the word definitely means column or support. Mr. T. A. G. Rao finds in this word a mystic reference to the phallic emblem symbolising the primeval principle of creation, especially on the basis of such texts of the Atharvaveda as 'Yo vētasam hiraṇyayam tiṣṭhantaṃ salile veda sa vai gubyaḥ prajāpatiḥ' (X. 7,41) ; but we are not quite sure about the exact significance of the word 'vētas' here and Rao's interpretation lacks confirmation ('Elements of Hindu Iconography', vol. II, Part I, p. 57).

6. R. V. I. 59,1 ; V. 45,2 ; iv. 5,1 ; A. V. ix. 3,1 etc.

7. R. V. X. 18,13 : 'Utte sthūpāni pṛthivīm tvat paritamaṃ logaṃ nibaddhanmo aham rivam ! Etāni sthūpāni pitaro dhātṛyaṃtu te'tra yamaḥ sādā te minotu !' cf. Th. Bloch on the discovery of a Vedic burial mound at Lauriya Nandangarh and the partial remains of a wooden sthūpā inside it ; A. S. I. A. R., 1906-7 (also 1904-05).

Buddhism. They are really 'śāsanastambhas' i. e. pillars bearing the edicts of the sovereign authority⁸. Aśoka himself refers to these as 'śilā-thambhas'; but it is interesting to note that he indirectly refers to the existing custom of erecting free standing stone pillars by the Indian people⁹. But there can be no doubt that this practice was either to commemorate some particular event or meant for other purposes; Aśoka himself erected the pillar at Lumbini (Rumindei) to indicate and thus commemorate the spot where the Buddha was born¹⁰.

The free-standing columns and the capitals of columns of the Śuṅga period which were discovered at Besnagar, however, are undoubtedly votive in character. The one bearing the inscription of Heliodorus, the Greek convert to Bhāgavatism, is correctly described as 'garuḍa-dhvaja' and is one of the earliest extant 'dhvajās' erected in honour of Vāsudeva, the god of gods ('devadeva'). But it is interesting to note that two other capitals of columns, whose shafts have not been discovered, are shaped, one as a 'tāla' (fan palm) and the other as a 'makara' (crocodile) and there can be no doubt that these when they were whole served as the votive columns dedicated to the two of the four 'vyūhas' of the Bhāgavata or the Pāñcarātra cult, viz. Saṃkarṣaṇa and Pradyumna¹¹. D. R. Bhandarkar's suggestion that the 'makara', itself the pinnacle of the capital, was originally surmounted by a crowning piece which he suggests might have been another 'garuḍa' capital discovered at Besnagar is a priori unlikely, because as we have seen above, the discovery of the 'tāla', 'garuḍa' and 'makara' capitals distinctly proves that all the three of the 4 'vyūhas' were enshrined in the locality. The two small holes behind the eyes of the 'makara', which led Bhandarkar to make that suggestion were perhaps meant for the insertion of painted banners or flags¹². It is likely that the Besnagar site contained

8. Cf. the word 'śāsanastambha' used in the Moṭupalli pillar inscription of Gaṇapati-deva, Ep. Ind. XII, p. 195-7.

9. Cf. Rāṃmath Rock Inscription, II. 4-5: 'hadiha silāthabhe silāthambhasi likhāpatevaya,' "and (wherever) there are stone pillars here (in my territory), it must be caused to be engraved on stone pillars."

10. The Rumindeli pillar Edict, II. 3-4: 'Śilā viśeṣajhabhi ca kālāpita silā thabhe ca neapāpīte hida Bhagavaṃ jāte t'. Here we may also refer to Divyāvadāna, p. 389 about Aśoka's erecting monuments, 'cīnūsa' in places lived at by Buddha.

11. A. S. I. A. R., 1913-14, p. 188-191, pl. LIII & LIV.

12. Cf. Kāśikākāra's 'vṛtā' on Pāṇini, V. 3. 100: viz. 'devapathādibhyaśca':—'Arceṣu puṇanārthāṣu citrakarmadhvajesu ca/ Iva pratikṛtau loṇaḥ kano devapathādīṣu'.

also a shrine of Aniruddha, the fourth of the 'vyūhas', which had within its precincts a 'ṛṣyadhvaja', i. e. a column bearing on its top the figure of a 'ṛṣya' or a white antelope which was his characteristic 'lāñchana'. It is unfortunate that no such 'dhvaja' has been discovered at Besnagar or for the matter of that at any other old Bhāgavata shrine. The existence of two other old shrines connected with Vāsudeva is known from two epigraphic records, viz. the so-called Ghosundi stone and the Mathura stone inscriptions edited by Bühler and Chanda respectively. The former refers to the erection of a 'pujāśilāprākāra' round the shrines of Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva and is dated in the 2nd century B. C. while the latter records the construction of a 'catuṣśālā' ('a quadrangle enclosed by four buildings'), a 'toraṇa' (a pillared gateway) and 'vedikā' ('a square terrace in the middle of the courtyard') by one...Vasu, during the reign of the Mahākṣattapa Soḍāsa, (1st. century A. D.)¹³. Some architectural fragments to be dated approximately in the 1st. century A. D. discovered by Garde at Pawaya in Gwalior State, curiously enough substantiate the old practice of erecting columns with fan-palm capitals necessarily to be associated with Śaṃkarṣaṇa; for at that place which has been rightly identified by Garde as the real site of ancient Padmāvati was discovered the capital of a stone column shaped like a cluster of palmyra leaves¹⁴. In this connection reference ought to be made to the stone 'banyan tree represented as a 'kalpa-vṛkṣa', yielding abundance, enclosed by a plaited rail and rising from a square railed base' which was discovered by Cunningham at Besnagar. Bags and vases overflowing with coins are shown beneath the branches of the tree. There is very little doubt that it originally served as the capital of a monolithic pillar which stood most likely in front of a shrine of Kuvera-Vaiṣṭavana, the lord of the Yakṣas, whose special cognisance was a bag or a vase full of coins¹⁵. This particular sculpture has been approximately dated in the Maurya period. The early Buddhist monuments of Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda as well as Jaina remains at Mathura and other places contain representations of many such

13. R. P. Chanda, 'Archaeology and the Vaisnava Tradition', M. A. S. I. No. 5, p. 163 and 171.

14. A. S. I. A. R., 1914-15, Part I.

15. Cf. the medineral representations of Jambhala, the Buddhist counterpart of Kuvera, with his feet resting on jars full of coins, and one of his hands holding a mongoose vomiting jewels; the purna was the cognisance of Kuvera.

free-standing columns surmounted by elephant, lion and other capitals which are undoubtedly votive in character.

An interesting side-light on this practice is thrown by a number of indigenous coins of ancient India from a very early period onwards. The silver punch-marked coins as a class, are unanimously recognised as the earliest indigenous attempts at coinage by the Indians. The oldest specimens of these have been differently dated by different numismatists, none of whom, however is inclined to place them later than the 4th century B. C., while many are disposed to give them a far earlier date. Numerous symbols which are punched on these metallic bits are 'extremely difficult of explanation, but there can be no doubt that many of them bear religious significance. On some such coins in the collection of the British Museum, London, appear certain marks which can very plausibly be explained as based on 'dhvajās' surmounted by 'garuḍa' and other emblems¹⁵. Certain double-die square copper coins of Taxila bear on their obverse a symbol which has been described by Allan as a pillar in a railing surmounted by a fish-like object¹⁶. A few round copper coins of uncertain origin bearing fragmentary legends (reading extremely uncertain) have on the reverse a symbol which has been described by Allan as a 'bushy tree in railing'; but a glance at the plate in Allan's book (pl. XLVI, figs. i-vi) makes us offer the plausible suggestion that these are really columns surmounted by palmyra leaf capitals. A comparison with representations of ordinary palm trees which appear on certain coins of Ayodhya (Allan, *ibid.* pl. XVII, figs. 10, 11, 12, etc.) lends support to this view. A reference has already been made above to the fan-palm capitals discovered at Besnagar and Pawaya, the former in Bhopal and the latter in Gwalior State. Thus, we see that these symbols are really based on the votive columns

15. J. Allan, 'Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India', pp. 27, 42, 45, 47, 76. The drawings by Allan based on actual symbols appearing on the coins reproduced by him show in some cases a column surmounted by a 'garuḍa' placed on a basement railing; in other cases similar columns appear crested by a double animal-headed capital. See figs. 1, 2. The garuḍa column inside railing appears also on the obverse side of a certain square die-struck copper coin doubtfully attributed to Taxila by Allan; *ibid.* p. 237. The garuḍa standards appearing on many gold coins of the Gupta emperors like Samudragupta, Candragupta and Kumāragupta are mere emblems held in high esteem by these Vignite monarchs like the trident standards of some Śivite Kuṣāṇa emperors, for these are seldom shown placed on a basement railing.

16. Allan, *ibid.*, Introduction, p. CXXXV-3, 222, see fig. 3.

connected with Bhāgavatism, viz. the 'garuḍa', 'mīna' ('makara') and 'tāla' capitals associated with Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu, Pradyumna and Saṃkarṣaṇa respectively. On other coins, we find various symbols which can also be interpreted as votive columns. Thus the round silver coin of the 'vṛṣṇirājanya gaṇa' contains on its obverse a pillar placed on a basement railing, surmounted by a composite animal figure, made up of the foreparts of a lion and an elephant with a 'nandipāda' symbol on its top, while its reverse bears an elaborate representation of a wheel¹⁸. We can not definitely explain the nature of this column, but as it appears on the coins of the 'vṛṣṇirājanya gaṇa', to which clan Vāsudeva belonged according to the epic tradition, it is possible that it has Viṣṇuite connection. On the reverse of a circular copper coin of Devamitra, probably a local king of Ayodhya of an early date (c. 1st century A. D.) we have a symbol which has been described by V. A. Smith as 'cock on top of post'; it is likely that it stands for a 'cock-crested column'¹⁹. This pillar with a cock capital can be studied along with the sculptured fragments discovered at Lala Bhagat, a small village in the Dehrapur Tehsil of the Cawnpore district; these consisted of a red sandstone cock carved in the round and a broken red sandstone pillar-square in the lower portion and octagonal in the upper one. The latter bears among other figures the one of a Gaja-lakṣmī flanked by a pilaster emerging from a pot supported on the head of an atlante and crowned by a cock²⁰. The cock as well as the peacock is the particular emblem of Subrahmaṇya and is especially associated with various aspects of the deity; thus on the coins of the Kuṣāṇa emperor Huviṣka, Mahāsena and Skanda, two of the different aspects of the same god are shown holding in their hands standards surmounted by a bird which is presumably a cock or a peacock²¹. So, these votive columns are really to be connected with the cult of Subrahmaṇya who had solar basis according

18. Allan, *Ibid.*, p. 261, pl. XVI 5.

19. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 151, pl. XIX, 18; Allan (*Ibid.* p. 138-39, pl. XVII, 22) also reproduces a coin of Vijayamitra of the same locality, with an identical device on its reverse.

20. A. S. I. A. R., 1929-30, p. 132-33, pl. XXXI; from the cock-crested pilaster on the column, it is obvious that the large stone cock originally served as the capital of a column.

21. Gardner, *British Museum Catalogue of the coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of India*, p. 138, 149, pl. xxvii, 16 and xxviii, 22. Subrahmaṇya who appears on the coins of the Yaudheyas is also characterized by this cock or the peacock *lāṣṭhana*.

to some writers²². It is interesting to note, that we do not meet with representations of bull crested columns necessarily to be connected with Śiva, in early coins. Bull as a device, however, occupies a prominent position in early coins, whether singly or in association with other devices, and in many instances this bull presumably stands for Śiva in his theriomorphic form. But some early square copper coins (uninscribed cast) bear devices which can plausibly be explained as trident-crested columns in a railing²³. Some silver and copper coins of the Audumbaras bear a device which is a combination of the trident and battle-axe, but there they are probably nothing more than standards. The numismatic data discussed at some length are of importance for they prove how common the practice was of erecting these votive columns connected with various religious systems of India; the types and devices figured on the coins were based not only on the fauna and flora of the country, but also particularly on the rites and practices of its inhabitants.

Reference has already been made to the Vedic 'yūpa' which originally meant an upright wooden post used for tying the sacrificial animals. Now, in later times this term came undoubtedly to denote lithic columns raised as memorials to the performance of different sacrifices by particular individuals. Thus, the inscribed stone pillar of the year 428 (372 A. D.) discovered at Bijaygaḍh tells us 'On the ceremony of the puṇḍarīka sacrifice (having been performed), this sacrificial post (yūpa) has been caused to be set up by the Vārīka, the illustrious Viṣṇuvardhana whose royalty and name are well established²⁴. A still earlier occurrence of the stone 'yūpas' is to be found in the three, recently discovered by Altekar at Badva in Kotah State (Rajputana); these were erected on the fifth day of the bright half of Phalguna (of the year) 295²⁵. Altekar draws attention to

22. This explains the prominence which is given to the figure of the sun-god in the Lala Bhagat pillar. Madho Sarup Vats, however, remarks 'the cock is regarded as an apotropaic by the Iranians, as herald of the dawn in India and as the sunbird by the Greeks'. It may be remarked here that the cock appears as a separate device on the silver coins of Sophytes, the king of the Salt range, a contemporary of Alexander the Great; but, there, the cock took the place of an eagle, so frequently adopted as a symbol on the imitations of the Athenian 'Owls'.

23. Allan, *ibid.*, p. 87-91.

24. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 253, Text, 143: *Kṛtaṁ puṇḍarīke Yūpoyampratisthāpitassupratisthitarāyṇa nāmadheyena Śrī Viṣṇuvardhanena Vārīkena.*

25. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xxiii, Part II, pp. 42 & pl. Altekar observes 'The stone Yūpas... seem to be an innovation introduced for commemorative purposes by the advocates of the Vedic revival probably with a view to emulate Buddhist pillars like those of Aśoka'.

the 38th verse of the 6th canto of *Raghuvamśa*²⁶, and remarks 'in the early centuries of the Christian era the stone Yūpas, commemorating different sacrifices, must have been fairly common ; otherwise the word Yūpa would not have acquired the sense of a 'jaya-stambha.' Some passages of the *Mahābhārata* show that these 'yūpas' really commemorated performances of the different sacrifices : Indradyumna, one of the oldest traditional kings of India is said to have erected 'yūpas' thousand times after the performance of sacrifices ; and when Suhotra, one of the Paurava kings, was ruling this earth, it was brightened by the effulgence of 'caityas' and 'yūpastambhas' in many places²⁷. Two other stone 'yūpas' discovered at Isāpur belong to a still earlier period because they are dated in the year 24 (Kuṣāṇa era) in the time of Vasiṣka, the successor of Kaniska. Some of the coins of the Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, and a few of Dhanadeva, the local king of Ayodhya bear symbolic representations of these 'yūpastambhas'²⁸.

The other types of memorial columns are funerary monuments which were erected by the descendants of particular individuals for the purpose of commemorating their departed ancestors. Such was most probably the character of the Bhita sculpture first discussed by R. D. Banerjee and identified by him on insufficient data as a phallic emblem of Śiva²⁹. Many inscriptional references are to be found to the raising of such memorial columns ; they are described as 'yaṣṭi, yaṭṭhi, laṣṭhi, 'laga (?), ketana', etc³⁰. Some of the earliest extant specimens bear phallic mark or significance and it is not without reason that early and late memorial structures over departed Śivite saints and kings of early and mediaeval India belonging to the Śivite faith bear invariably the phallic emblem of Śiva in a very conspicuous position.

26. *Saṃgrāmanirviṣṭa sahasrabāhuraṣṭādaśadvīpanikṣātayūpaḥ. Ananyasiddhāraṇarājāsabdo bahhūva yogī kila kīrtavīryaḥ.*

27. *Mahābhārata*, Vāṅavahī ed., *Vaṇaparva*, ch. 198, v. 10 ; *Ādiparva*, ch. 94, v. 28-29.

28. Allam, p. 121, pl. xiv. 10 ; p. 276, pl. xxxix, 6, 11, 12, 13, etc. p. 133, pl. xviii, 1, 2.

29. JBSOA, 1934, J. N. Banerjee, 'The Phallic emblem in ancient and mediaeval India', pp. 35-44.

30. The word Ketana in the sense of a memorial structure occurs in a two line Śaṅga inscription discovered at Ayodhya. Jayaswal translates it either as a statue-house or a flag-staff—a funeral memorial (J. B. O. R. S. Vol. X. p. 208). Ketana means also a dhvaja, cilāpa, (sign) and here is used undoubtedly in the latter sense.

SOME REMARKS ON THE DOCTRINE OF COSMIC CYCLES

By **RENÉ GUÉNON**

The allusions which we have been led to make here and there, to the Hindu doctrine of cosmic cycles and its equivalents which are found in other traditions, elicited some enquiries. We have been asked sometimes whether we could give, if not a complete exposition, at least a survey of the whole, so that the main lines could be discerned. In fact, this seems an almost impossible task, for the question in itself is a very complex one, and it is moreover extremely difficult to express these things in a European language and in such a way as to render them accessible to the present mentality in the West, which is not in the least accustomed to this kind of considerations. We think the only possible thing to do is an attempt to throw light on some points by such remarks as follow. They have, in fact, no other pretension than to give simple suggestions, concerning the meaning of the doctrine dealt with, without trying to explain it fully.

In the most general acceptance of the term, we must consider a cycle as representing the process of development of any state of manifestation or, in the case of minor cycles, of any one of the more or less restricted and specialised modalities of this state. As all things, in the universal Existence, are connected by the law of correspondence, there is always and necessarily a certain analogy either between the different cycles of the same order or between the principal cycles and their secondary divisions. This allows the use of one and the same mode of expression in order to speak of them, albeit frequently it must be taken as merely symbolical; the essence itself of all symbolism is precisely that it is based on the correspondences and analogies which exist really in the nature of things. Here, we want to allude first of all to the "chronological" form

in which the doctrine of cycles presents itself : the Kalpa represents the total development of a world, i. e. of a state or degree of the universal Existence ; so it is evident that one cannot speak literally of the duration of a Kalpa, evaluated according to any measure of time whatever, except in the case of the one which refers to the state of which time is one of the determining conditions and which properly constitutes our world. In any other case, this consideration of the duration and the succession it implies has none but a purely symbolic value and has to be transposed analogically : the temporal succession is then but an image of the concatenation, both logical and ontological, of an "extra-temporal" series of causes and effects ; but human language cannot directly express other conditions than those of our state, and this in itself is enough to justify such a symbolism, which must be regarded as perfectly natural and normal.

It is not our intention to devote ourselves at present to the consideration of the most extended cycles, such as the Kalpas ; we shall confine ourselves to those which have their course within our own Kalpa, i. e. to the Manvantaras and their sub-divisions. On this level, the cycles have a historical as well as a cosmical character, for they concern more specially terrestrial humanity, while at the same time they are closely bound up with events that happen in our world outside humanity. There is nothing surprising in this, for the idea of considering human history as in some manner isolated from all the rest is an exclusively modern one. It is altogether opposed to the teaching of all traditions ; these, on the contrary, unanimously affirm a necessary and constant correlation between the two orders, the cosmical and the human.

The Manvantaras or eras of successive Manus are fourteen in number and form two septenary series. The first of these comprises the past Manvantaras and the one in which we are at present, and the second comprises the future Manvantaras. These two series, of which the one refers to the past, with the present immediately resulting from it, and the other to the future, can be put into correspondence with those of the seven Svargas and the seven Pâtâlas. From the point of view of the hierarchy of the degrees of Existence or of universal manifestation, these represent the whole of states, respectively superior and inferior to the human one. From the point of view of the causal concatenation of the cycles described symbolically, as is the rule, by analogy of a temporal

succession, they represent the whole of states, respectively anterior and posterior to the same human state. Evidently, the latter point of view is here the more important: it allows us to see, in the interior of our Kalpa, a likeness, ~~on~~ ^{on} reduced scale, of the whole of the cycles of universal manifestation according to the analogical relation mentioned above. In this sense it could be said that the succession of the Manvantaras in some manner indicates a reflection of the other worlds in ours. To confirm this connection, it could be also remarked that the two words *Manu* and *Loka* are employed, the one as well as the other, as symbolical designations of the number fourteen; complete ignorance alone of the profound reasons inherent in all traditional symbolism would speak of this as a simple "coincidence."

We must look also at another correspondence with the Manvantaras, i. e. of the seven *Dvīpas* or "regions" into which our world is divided. Although, according to the proper meaning of the word which designates them, they are represented as so many islands or continents distributed in a certain manner in space, one has to be aware that this is not to be taken literally and that they must not be considered simply as different parts of the present earth. In fact, they "emerge" one by one and not simultaneously; this means that only one of them is manifested in the sensible world during the course of a certain period. If this period is a Manvantara, it must be concluded that every *Dvīpa* appears twice in the Kalpa, i. e. once in each of the two septenary series which we have spoken of. From the relation of these two series—they correspond with each other in an inverse sense, as in all similar cases and particularly with regard to the series of *Svargas* and *Pātālas*—it follows that the sequence of the appearance of the *Dvīpas* must equally be inverse in the second series to what it was in the first. In the main, the question here is much more of different states of the terrestrial world than of "regions" properly speaking; the *Jambu-dvīpa* represents in reality the entire earth in its present state, and if it is said that it extends south of *Meru* or of the mountain-"axis" around which the revolutions of our world are effected, it is because—the *Meru* being identified symbolically with the north pole—in relation to it the entire earth is veritably situated in the south. In order to explain this more completely, it would be necessary to develop the symbolism of the directions of space, in accordance with which the

Dvīpas are distributed ; it would also be necessary to dwell upon the relations of correspondence between this spatial symbolism and the temporal symbolism on which rests the entire doctrine of cycles. It is however not possible to enter here into these considerations which by themselves would require a whole volume, and we have to be content with these summary indications ; moreover, those who already have some knowledge of the subject may easily complete them.

This way of seeing the seven Dvīpas is confirmed also by data in accordance in other traditions where the "seven earths" are equally spoken of, especially in Islamic esoterism and the Hebrew Kabbala. The "seven earths" in the latter, while being figured outwardly by as many divisions of the earth of Chanaan, are put into connection with the reigns of the "seven kings of Edom," who clearly enough correspond to the seven Manus of the first series ; and they all are comprised in the "Earth of the Living," which represents the complete development of our world considered as realised permanently in its principal state. Here we can note the co-existence of the two points of view : the one, of succession, refers to the manifestation in itself, and the other, of simultaneousness, refers to its principle, which could also be called its archetype. Fundamentally the correspondence of these two points of view is equivalent in a certain manner with that of the time symbolism and the space symbolism, which precisely we have just alluded to with regard to the Dvīpas of the Hindu tradition.

In Islamic esoterism, the "seven earths" appear perhaps even more explicitly, as so many *Tabaqāt* or "categories" of earthly existence. They co-exist and interpenetrate in some way, but only one of them can actually be apprehended by the senses, whereas the others are in a latent state and can be perceived only exceptionally and in certain special conditions ; and here again, they are manifested outwardly one by one in the diverse periods succeeding each other in the course of the total duration of this world. Each of the "seven earths", on the other hand, is ruled by a *Qutb* or "Pole," and this corresponds very plainly to the *Manu* of the period during which his earth is manifested ; these seven *Aqtāb* are subordinated to the supreme "Pole," and so are the different *Manus* to the *Ādi-Manu* or primordial *Manu* ; furthermore still, by reason of the co-existence of the "seven earths," in a certain respect they also exercise their functions

in a permanent and simultaneous manner. It is scarcely necessary to remark that the designation "Pole" is closely connected with the "polar" symbolism of Meru already mentioned, the Meru itself having as exact equivalent the mountain Qāf in the Islamic tradition. Let us add that the seven terrestrial "Poles" are considered as reflexes of the seven celestial "Poles": these preside over the seven planetary heavens respectively, a fact which naturally evokes the correspondence with the Svargas in Hindu doctrine and shows the perfect agreement between the two traditions with regard to this subject.

Now we shall view the divisions of a Manvantara, that is to say the Yugas, which are four in number. Without insisting on it at length, we may point out at first that this quaternary division of a cycle is susceptible of multiple applications. In fact, it is found in many cycles of a more particular order: for instance, the four seasons of the year, the four weeks of the lunar month, the four ages of human life may be cited. Here again there is correspondence with a spatial symbolism, referred principally, in this case, to the four cardinal points. On the other hand, the manifest equivalence has been frequently remarked of the four Yugas with the four ages of gold, silver, copper and iron, known in Greco-Latin antiquity. Here as well as there, each period is equally marked by a falling off in respect to the one that preceded it. This is directly opposed to the idea of "progress" as conceived by modern people; its very simple explanation lies in the fact that any cyclical development, that is to say any process of manifestation, necessarily implies a gradual withdrawing from the principle, which is in fact a "descent", and this is also the real meaning of the "fall" in Jewish-Christian tradition.

From one Yuga to the next the degeneration is accompanied by a decreasing duration, which is moreover considered as influencing the length of human life. Most important in this respect is the relation which exists between the respective durations of these different periods. If the total duration of the Manvantara is represented by 10, that of the Kṛta-Yuga or Satya-Yuga would be represented by 4, that of the Tretā-Yuga by 3, that of the Dvāpara-Yuga by 2 and that of the Kali-Yuga by 1; these numbers are also those of the feet of the bull symbolical of Dharma, which are beheld resting on the earth during the same respective periods. The division of the Manvantara is thus effected according to the formula 10=

$4+3+2+1$, which, in an inverse sense, is that of the Pythagorean Tetraktys $1+2+3+4=10$; the latter formula corresponds to the "circling of the quadrant" in the language of Occidental Hermetism, and the former to the inverse problem of the "squaring of the circle". This expresses precisely the relation of the end of the cycle to its beginning, i. e. the integration of its total development; there is here a whole symbolism at the same time arithmetical and geometrical, and we can only indicate it in passing, so as not to stray from our main subject.

The numerals in the various texts indicating the duration of the Manvantara and therefore of the Yugas must by no means be looked upon as constituting a "chronology" in the ordinary meaning of this word, i. e. as expressing numbers of years which would have to be taken literally. For this reason the certain apparent variations which occur in these, do not fundamentally imply any real contradiction. It is only, in a general way, the number 4320 which has to be considered in these numerals, and for the reason given below. The more or less numerous zeros by which it is followed may even, more than anything else, be destined to mislead those who would like to give themselves up to certain calculations. At first, such a precaution may seem strange; it is however easily explained: If the real duration of the Manvantara were known, and if also its starting point would be determined exactly, every one could easily make deductions which would allow to foresee certain future events. Yet no orthodox tradition has ever encouraged researches by means of which man could arrive at knowing the future to a larger or smaller extent, as such knowledge actually would present far more inconveniences than real advantages. More or less carefully therefore, starting-point and duration of the Manvantara have always been dissimulated, either by adding or subtracting a determined number of years with reference to the real dates, or else by multiplying or dividing the durations of the cyclical periods so as to preserve only their exact proportions; we may add that for similar reasons certain correspondences sometimes have also been inverted.

If the duration of the Manvantara is 4320, those of the four Yugas would be 1728, 1296, 864 and 432 respectively; but by what number would it be necessary to multiply these in order to obtain these same durations expressed in years? It is easy to notice that all the cyclical numbers directly refer to the geometrical division of the circle: thus,

$4320 \div 360 = 12$ There is nothing arbitrary or purely conventional in this division; by reasons which lie in the correspondence that exists between arithmetics and geometry, it is the norm that it is effected according to the multiples of 12 whereas the decimal division is properly that of the straight line. Nevertheless this observation, although truly fundamental, would not allow to go very far in the determination of cyclical periods, were it not known moreover that their principal base in the cosmical order is the astronomical period of the precession of the equinoxes, the duration of which is 25920 years, so that the equinoxial points are displaced by one degree in 72 years. This number 72 is precisely a sub-multiple of $4320 = 72 \times 60$, and 4320 in its turn is a sub-multiple of $25920 = 4320 \times 6$; the fact that with regard to the precession of the equinoxes one finds again the numbers bound up with the division of the circle, is still another proof of the truly natural character of the latter. The question however which has now to be answered is: which multiple or sub-multiple of the astronomical period concerned really corresponds to the duration of the Manvantara?

The period which most frequently appears in different traditions, truly speaking, is perhaps not so much that of the precession of the equinoxes than its half: in fact, it is this which corresponds notably to the "great year" of the Persians and Greeks, frequently evaluated by approximation as 12000 or 13000 years, its exact duration being 12960 years. Given the particular importance attributed to this period, it is to be presumed that the Manvantara comprises an entire number of these "great years"; but then, what is this number? In this respect we find at least, outside the Hindu tradition, a precise indication and which seems plausible enough to be accepted this time literally: with the Chaldeans, the duration of the reign of Xisuthros, who manifestly is identical with Vaivasvata, the Manu of the present era, is fixed as 64800 years, i. e. exactly five "great years". The number 5, we may note incidentally, being that of the Bhūtas or elements of the sensible world, must necessarily have a special importance from the cosmological point of view, and this tends to confirm the reality of such an evaluation. Perhaps one would even have to be aware of a certain correlation between the five Bhūtas and the five successive "great years" concerned, the more so, as in fact one comes across, in the ancient traditions of central America, an explicit association of the elements with certain

cyclical periods ; the question however would demand closer examination. However this may be, if such is the real duration of the Manvantara, and if one continues to take as a basis the number 4320, which is equal to one third of the "great year", this number has to be multiplied by 15. Naturally, on the other hand, the five "great years" will be distributed unevenly, but in simple relations, in the four Yugas : the Kṛta-Yuga will hold 2, the Tretā-Yuga $1\frac{1}{2}$, the Dvāpara-Yuga 1 and the Kali-Yuga $\frac{1}{2}$; these numbers are moreover, it is understood, half of those which we had above while representing by 10 the duration of the Manvantara. Evaluated in ordinary years, these same durations of the four Yugas will be respectively of 25920, 19440, 12960 and 6480 years, forming the total of 64800 years. It will be seen that these numbers are kept within limits at least altogether likely and which may quite well be in accordance with the real antiquity of the present terrestrial humanity.

We shall stop here with these considerations. We do not risk an attempt at determining the starting point of our Manvantara, nor consequently the exact point of its course where we actually are. We know by all the traditional data that from a long time already we are in the Kali-Yuga ; without any fear of error we may say that we even are in an advanced phase of it ; the descriptions of this phase as they are given in the Purāṇas answer moreover in the most startling manner to the character of the present epoch. Still, would it not be unwise to want more precision, and moreover, would this not inevitably approach such kinds of predictions against which traditional doctrine, not without momentous reasons, has raised so many hindrances ?

Transl. St. K.

A WOOD CARVING FROM A BENGAL VILLAGE

By G. S. DUTT, I. C. S.

Rural Bengal has an art tradition in every sphere which is remarkable for its virility and its inherent feeling for design. This will also be found present in two illustrations (Pl. V) given in the present article of two panels from the wooden frame-work of a terra-cotta temple in the village of Balijuri in the district of Birbhum, which was recovered by me from that village six years ago when I was in that district, the temple itself having collapsed and part of the door frame having got badly damaged. The entire door frame which, with the exception of a small missing portion, is in the possession of the present writer, is a massive wooden structure, most elaborately carved in a variety of floral, decorative and figure designs.¹ The most remarkable carvings in it consist, on the one hand, of a series of representations of the various avatārs or incarnations of Viṣṇu and of incidents from the life of Kṛṣṇa in the two upright jambs, and, on the other hand, of the delineation of the goddess Durgā and her attendants and of a scene of the battle-march of the gods against the demon Vṛtra in the two top lintels. An illustration of the lintel with the Durgā group appeared in my article on the "Living Traditions of the Folk Arts in Bengal" in "Indian Art and Letters".²

Figure 1 in the present article is the central part of the battle march of the gods led by Indra against the demon Vṛtra. The entire top lintel consists of three panels showing the gods in battle array in various stages of the march. Fig. 1 represents the central panel wherein Śiva is shown as the drummer and trumpeter of the gods, riding on his bull and accompanied by his two ghostly attendants. In the two end panels not

1. The entire door frame will be reproduced in my forthcoming book on the "Living National Art Tradition of Bengal".

2. Vol. X, No. 1; Pl. II, Fig. 4.

reproduced here, the vanguard is represented as engaged in battle with the demon, but the rearguard consisting of several other gods has not yet come up to the front. Śiva is depicted as the central connecting figure between these two groups, with his right arm extended forward and beating the hand-drum (damaru) to hearten those engaged in the actual fight and with his head turned back and his mouth blowing the horn held in his left hand, calling to the laggards to come up and join in the fight.

The whole scene as depicted in the three panels is a veritable epic in relief. The vigour and animation of the Śiva motif belongs essentially to the domain of the rural tradition of Bengal—depicting not the philosopher Śiva nor the dancing Śiva of South Indian art, but the drummer and trumpeter Śiva, young, eager, unconventional and agile—the very spirit of uncompromising battle against the forces of evil.

The sense of speed and impatience for advance is conveyed in every line and limb of all the four figures but more particularly in the exaggerated size of the legs of the attendant in front and in the striding pose of his right leg, in the sweep of the bull's tail and in the outstretched right arm and the running attitude of the legs of the attendant at the back. The bull as well as the attendant in front are made to look back in sympathy with Śiva himself, thus heightening, on the one hand, the sense of speed and impatience for advance, and on the other hand, the urge to the laggards to come up. With effortless ease, rhythmic harmony of the different parts has been secured and a sense of virility animates the entire composition. The matted hair of Śiva and his first attendant has been treated so as to increase the sense of speed and power.

Fig. 2 is a panel from one of the two upright jambs and contains the delineation of two avatārs of Viṣṇu, viz. the Paraśurāma avatār carrying an axe, and the Varāha or boar incarnation with the head of a boar on a human body. Paraśurāma also has been depicted with matted hair treated in a simple stylised form. Much decorative rhythm is in the dresses of both these figures. They have dignity and repose.

All the panels are fringed with decorative work of considerable interest, consisting of an interlaced rope design, a lotus design and a creeper design. A sense of liveliness appears to pervade the decorative work itself.

The entire work is obviously the creation of a village artist of Bengal.



There is no trace in it of the canons of any school of conventional iconography. Like the painting of the "Paṭuas" of West Bengal, the art embodied in these wood carvings represents a tradition which may be termed Basic Indian, and which has come through the ages in a continuous and unadulterated stream down to the present day. The freedom of conception and design in these wood carvings by the village artists of Bengal is in charming contrast with the conventionalism found in the stone sculptures of the Pāla school and subsequent stone sculptures inspired by that school. According to village tradition, the door frame is about 150 years old, and it is a remarkable fact, illustrating the continuity of the national art tradition of Bengal as distinguished from the urban schools of recent times, that there are village carpenters still living in West Bengal who, given due encouragement, can produce both in conception and in execution according to the tradition which created this door frame of a bygone age.



A NEW EXPLANATION OF THE GANDHARVAS

By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

Comparative mythology cannot remain content with the results yet achieved, and it is natural that ingenuity should be employed to cast further light on its problems. But it is equally necessary that each new suggestion should be viewed critically, for it is inevitable that, if a suggestion is mooted and not criticised, upon it as a foundation other hypotheses will be framed, ignoring the frailty of the basis.

Professor Przyluski¹ has adumbrated the hypothesis that the Gandharvas were primitively conceived under the shape of asses, replaced later on by the horse as the nobler animal. He has illustrated this process by a parallel² from the Mother-Goddess, who was originally pictured between two animals, birds, lions, etc. Then horses took the place of the former two acolytes who became two horse-gods, and finally changed into gods on horseback, the two Aśvins with Aditi. It may be doubted whether the parallelism is particularly striking; but in any case the alleged history of Aditi and the Aśvins is certainly open to the gravest objections, which I have detailed in an article³ on the Aśvins and the Great Goddess.

The theory, therefore of the Gandharvas as conceived under the shape of asses must stand or fall on its own merits. The ingenuity of the deduction must readily be conceded. It begins with insistence on the non-Aryan character of the word 'ghoṭa,' 'horse' found in the Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra, but not in the earlier Vedic texts. Āpastamba no doubt is of southern connection, and it is a legitimate contention that parallels for the word are not to be found in Indo-European speeches, but in Telugu 'gurramu,' Kanarese 'kudure', and Tamil 'kudirei'; in Muṇḍā we

1. *Indian Culture*, iii (1937), 613-20.

2. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, i (1936), 129-135.

3. *Indian Culture*, iii, 721-5.

have Gadabā 'krutā', Savara 'kurtā', which have probably been derived from the Dravidian word current in Goṇḍī, before it took over Hindi 'ghoṛā' in the form 'koṛā'. It is possible also to suggest a form 'ghutr-' as the prototype whence all these forms may legitimately be derived¹. But there we are stopped. To suggest that the original was Dravidian carries us far beyond the available evidence. Still less relevant is the suggestion² that it is this word which gives us the first part of the words Kollagiri and Kollapura, which are more familiar in the name Kolhapur. The suggestion itself, it must be added, does not surpass the position of a mere conjecture.

Professor Przyluski adduces the earlier idea among workers on comparative mythology that there was an affinity between the words Kentauros, Gandharva, and Avestan Gandarawa, and the view, now accepted by M. Dumézil³, which would represent the word as a designation of Indo-European horse genii, the name and the cult alike being properly Indo-European. He admits that, by dropping the syllable '-va', we arrive at an Aryan Gandhar, which does not differ much from the Greek Kentaur, but he holds that the Indo-European character of the radical element is not demonstrated, and that in reality it is an old name of the horse, which has left traces in the Dravidian languages in the forms 'kudirei, kudri, kudira, kudure,' etc. To this Professor St. Schayer⁴ has added the natural and quite admissible suggestion that Gandharva and Kentauros are both due to popular etymology transforming the same loan word. In fact, of course, this is the view normally taken by those who believe in the ultimate identity of the two words, but recognize that their correspondence is not exact. He suggests further connection of Gandharva with 'gardabha,' 'garda-' being probably also an un-Aryan loan word. In the same vein we have Professor S. K. Chatterji⁵ adducing Śālihotra, accounting for Śāli as with its equivalent Sāta in Sātavāhana the ancient Kol (Austrian) word for the horse. The second element '-hotra' is connected with the original 'ghotra' or 'ghutra,' found in 'ghota' and the Dravidian words mentioned

1. T. Bloch, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 46-9.
2. P. C. Bagchi, *Ind. Hist. Quart.* ix (1933), 237.
3. *Le Problème des Centaures* (1929).
4. *Bulletin de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres*, 1934, p. 63.
5. *Seventh Oriental Congress*, pp. 183 ff.

above. Further afield we have the Egyptian 'htr,' 'horse,' the modern Greek word for the ass, 'gadairos,' and the Turki word for the mule, 'katyr'. It is suggested that we have an old Asianic word, brought in by the Dravidians, who themselves may be Mediterranean (Cretan) in origin. As regards these interesting but rather bold speculations, it may be remarked that the theory¹ of Śāli, Sāta, as denoting horse is quite unproved, and that the view that Sātavāhana princes were supposed to be descended from the horse as a result of the *Aśvamedha* rite appears to have nothing whatever to commend it. The further suggestion that in Śālihotra we have two terms meaning 'horse' is even less credible.

The net result of these views is simply that we have a Sanskrit word 'ghoṭa,' legitimately supposed to represent 'ghotra,' of uncertain origin. To prove it to be Indo-European is impossible, but, of course, that leaves its provenance simply undetermined. There are Dravidian words which may plausibly be traced to it or a parallel form. That it is in Sanskrit borrowed from Dravidian is a pure guess, unsupported by any evidence. To show that a Sanskrit word is really Dravidian is inevitably difficult, unless the Sanskrit word appears late in the language, and the Dravidian word is connected with others in Dravidian and can reasonably be traced to a Dravidian origin. There is in this case nothing to decide. Professor Sommer² has mentioned the possibility of Indo-European origin for 'ghoṭa' by connecting it with the root 'ghel-', whence we have 'hari' and supposing that the term, originally applied to another animal (the fox?), came to be transferred to the horse³. The conjecture is no more than a conjecture, but it is quite unscientific to assert that the word must be a loan word.

As regards the equation with *Kentauros*, it is phonetically impossible, unless we resort to folk etymology, and this would be justified only if there were the strongest reasons on other grounds for upholding identity of origin. But such reasons *prima facie* are absolutely lacking. The *Gandharva* of the *R̥gveda* is essentially a creature of the heaven; the only traits which mark him as something different come from later texts and suggest strongly a contamination with other religious conceptions⁴. The

1. J. R. A. S. 1929, pp. 273 ff.

2. *Ind. Forsch.* xxxi. 364.

3. Walde, *Vergl. Wörterbuch*, 1924.

4. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, i 179 ff.

Greek Kentauroi have nothing whatever of the essential side of the Vedic Gandharva's character and their monstrous combination of human and equine form is not unnaturally regarded as suggestive of un-Greek origin. Of such a conception the Veda has no trace.

But Professor Przyluski believes that he can connect the names of the ass, the horse, and the Gandharva. His arguments are as follows. (1) In Pāli the word for ass is 'gadrabha',¹ the '-bha' can be treated as the well known animal name suffix; Middle-Indian 'garda-', 'ass' is close to 'hotra', 'horse', and the name of the ass in Kurku, 'gadri', can also be compared to it. It must at once be observed that the alleged 'hotra' is without authority.

(2) In certain languages of India the aspiration tends to move in a curious way from one syllable to another. If 'ghotra', 'gandharva', and 'gadrabha' are connected, we have a like phenomenon. In the Muṇḍā tongues in the same way the name of the ass varies between 'gadha', 'gada', 'gadri' and 'gadahā'. Plainly the most imperfect parallel is quite worthless to explain the divergent forms.

(3) Sanskrit 'mudrā' 'seal', has two equivalents, 'muṁdra' and 'muṁtra' in the Kharoṣṭhī documents of Niya. There are also Iranian forms, believed to be borrowed from the Indian, Bal. 'mundari', 'ring', 'finger-ring', and Afgh. 'mūndra', 'ring', 'ear-ring'. Between 'mudrā' and 'mundari' there is just about the same interval as between 'gadra-' and 'gandhar-'. This again is a wholly ineffective argument.

(4) In Kui we have 'goḍā', 'horse', and 'goḍo' 'ass'; in Tamil 'kudirei' and 'kaṇḍei', and in Malayālam 'kudira' and 'kaṇḍa' with the same distinction of sense. These analogies can hardly be fortuitous, in view of the physical similarity of ass and horse, but they may be two imperfect copies of the same original which one feels inclined to look for in the Near East. It is frankly very difficult to understand the process by which two different renderings of the same term came to be made, and to be applied to the horse and the ass respectively.

(5) The Kentauroi by name suggest connection with the Near East. But also we have the royal name Midas, the Macedonian, son of Gordias, the Phrygian, son of Gordios². We have also the legend of Midas being given

1. Fox, Greek and Roman mythology, F. 341.

2. An isolated metathesis according to W. Geiger, 'Pāli'. 65.

3. So Prof. Przyluski; Gordias is usually the form.

the ears of an ass, because he preferred the music of Marsyas to that of Apollo. Gordios or Gordias may be connected with 'garda-bha'. Moreover, M. Dumézil has already compared Gordios and Gandharva, and in the 3rd century A. D. the Phrygians of Nicea stamped a coin in honour of Gordianus Pius, the Emperor, showing a man sitting on a horse with a human limb, and bearing an appropriate legend. This suggests a connection between names of the Gordianus type and the Kentauroi. The ingenuity which connects Gord- and Kentaur-, and creatures with men's trunks on the body and limbs of horses and a horse with a man's leg is as admirable as it is wholly improbable. Farfetched conjectures of this kind are open to the fatal objection for scientific investigation that they carry no probative force, and if accepted destroy the possibility of demonstration of realities.

To deduce from such evidence that the Gandharvas were originally conceived under ass form is wholly impossible, and the alleged parallel of Ásvins has already been shown to be unreal. We are told, however, that the proposal is helpful, for, if the Gandharvas were asses primitively, their true nature is more easily explained. They are lubric and musical beings, and the ass is distinctively a lascivious and noisy animal. Let us recall moreover that in AV. viii. 6 the Gandharvas 'bray like asses'. Unfortunately the last statement is quite unfounded and therefore utterly misleading. The Atharvan hymn is a spell to protect a pregnant woman from varied demons, and the mention of those who make donkey-noises in verse 10 has no reference whatever to Gandharvas, who appear only in verse 19. The whole of this argument, which is the only connection between Gandharva and ass adduced, thus rests on a grave blunder. Actually in AV. iv. 37 we find Gandharvas regarded as seeking to ruin women in the guise of an ape, a dog, a hairy child or a friend, but in a passage where the ass would certainly have been appropriately mentioned there is no mention of it. In entire harmony with this absence of connection is the fact that in the epic mythology the ass is not associated with the Gandharva, which has equine associations only. It is, it should be noted not the case¹ that the Gandharvas appear there as of half horse-like, half bird-like shape. The Gandharvas yoke the steeds of the god Kubera, which are nying horses

1. Contrast Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 153.

and in that sense bird-like, but that they themselves were originally steeds is a most implausible hypothesis, which is not the epic view. Equally the *Rgveda* knows nothing of an equine form.

Professor Przyluski, however, has further evidence for his connection of the Gandharva and the ass. He alludes to the well known Pāli doctrine of the Gandharva as the form assumed by the individual on death which sees birth in a mother's womb, and which enters therein on the occasion of the parents' coition¹. Professor St. Schayer has argued that this conception is consistent with the Vedic idea that, before a woman can belong to her husband, the pair must wait three nights, during which she is deemed to belong to the Gandharva *Viśvāvasu*. It may be observed that there seems to be very considerable difficulty in accepting the consistency of the two ideas. In the Vedic wedlock rite we have an instance of the very common idea of the dangers of intercourse and the desirability of lessening them. The Gandharva is essentially held to enjoy intercourse, not to be a spirit seeking reincarnation through that of others. But Professor Przyluski's point is that, as the mother is first united to the Gandharva, and he is in essence an ass, the child will in primitive thought be regarded as an ass and bear the name. Does this not explain the name Gadabā of the Muṇḍā tribe? The suggestion that a Muṇḍā tribe should be named from a Vedic belief is really out of the question, and it need only be added that in the dialect of the Bastar State the word for ass is 'gadhai' or 'gadodī', so that there is not even a shadow of a reason for connecting Gadabā with it.

Not less remarkable is the next argument. We know the Jain legend of Kālaka wherein figures a She-Ass magic which appears to king Gardabhilla². Now in one version the king is father of Vikramāditya. Another version tells us that Vikramāditya's father was a divine creature, Gandharvasena, who had been cursed to wear the shape of an ass. Now '-sena' is an un-Aryan suffix. Hence Gandharvasena is to Gandharva as Gardabhilla to Gardabha. The variations of the legend prove the equivalence of Gandharva and Gardabha. An ass of divine essence was the protector of Ujjain as well as the ancestor of its kings. But the whole construction

1. *Wells*, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 307; *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, II, 370.

2. The legends are best given by Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*, pp. 56 ff.

is without foundation. Sena, and in compounds '-sena' is in this case the well known word whose Indo-European origin from the root 'sei-' is perfectly sound,¹ and to make out of it a suffix and to equate Gardabhilla and Gandharva is to leave all probability out of account. That '-sena' should be added at times to un-Aryan ethnics as in Kaliṅgasena is surely the most natural thing in the world. That a royal caste in Madura in the 18th century claimed to be descended from an ass, may or may not be correct, but it is wholly irrelevant to either the Muṇḍā tribe Gadabā, which has no claim to such descent, or to Gandharvasena or to Vikramāditya.

Even more far fetched is the next contention. In Gandharva the '-va' is a suffix like '-bha'. For this is adduced the parallel of the name Salva and Sarabha. It may be true, but the difficulty is that the suffix may be '-rva', and must be so if we accept connection with 'gandha',² regarded as the vapour, the epithets of Śiva as 'gandhadhārin' and 'gandhapālin' being adduced. The problem at present is quite beyond solution. But, taking '-va' as the suffix, we are invited to compare the ethnic Gandhāra in its various forms of which Gandhari is already in the Ṛgveda, Herodotos knows the Gandarioi, Ptolemy the Gandarai. The ass connection remains to be traced. It is revealed in the fact³ that when Gāndhārī, daughter of king Subala, wife of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, gave birth to Duryodhana, the infant began to cry like an ass. Little did the epic poet know that in this trait he was revealing the ancient connection of the family with the ass. The best—or worst—is yet to come. In the un-Aryan languages of India, an initial guttural might disappear. Hence in the Andarae of Pliny, the Andhra of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the Andha of Middle Indian, we have none others than the people who bore the name of the ass. The ruling caste was the Śātavāhana, 'Sons of the Horse', the nobler animal having replaced the ass. A little ingenuity more might suggest that the royal caste was a different tribe of horsemen claiming descent from the horse, who superimposed themselves on humbler ass users. Frankly, the whole hypothesis lacks all serious foundation. It is an edifice constructed by heaping on improbable conjectures others yet more improbable.

1. Walde, *op. cit.* ii. 459.

2. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 138.

3. Mahābhārata, i. 115.

No new light results, in my opinion, from this investigation of Professor Przyluski regarding the nature of the Gandharva. What indeed is clear is that the Gandharva remains throughout singularly free from any connection with the ass. It may be added that it seems most important to dismiss connection with the Kentauroi. Their similarities have been wholly overstated by Hopkins¹; as we have seen, the Gandharvas are not equine, and the 'Rgveda' seems not even to know of them as musicians'. Connected with phenomena of the light and the clouds (Hopkins himself regards them and the Apsarases as water-phenomena (clouds or stars) sometimes regarded as a unit phenomenon), the Gandharva, originally one, is essentially discrepant in character from the Kentauroi, whose essential characteristic is their mixed form. Even the epic has no trace of such a combination of forms as is asserted by the scholiast on VP. i. 5. 57 for the Naras and Kimpnaras, and it is as certain as anything can be that the idea is definitely late.

1. *Epic Mythology*, pp. 137, 138.

2. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 137.



NOTE ON THE PILLAR AT SĀRNĀTH

BY G. COEDÈS



In his 'Barabudur' (BEFEO, XXXII, p. 422), Paul Mus has dealt with the symbolism of the lion pillar at Sārnāth. His explanation of the four rosettes in the shape of wheels which adorn the abacus of the capital, differs considerably from the interpretation previously given by J. Przyluski (*Mélanges Linossier*, II, p. 481).

Whereas J. Przyluski considers these wheels, the hub of which originally had been inlaid with precious stones, as signifying the four planets, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, P. Mus suggests that the four wheels may be taken for as many suns and the precious stones for the four planets in conjunction with the sun.

To support this explanation, P. Mus quotes a passage from the *Mahāvamsa* (XXXVI, 65-66) according to which king Saṅghatissa, in order to decorate a stūpa, put four precious stones into the centre of four suns (placed on the four faces of the "tee") and a ring of diamond on the top of the stūpa.

J. Przyluski taking up this question in *JISOA* (June 1936, p. 45) observes that the interpretation of P. Mus rests on words in parenthesis. This parenthesis is added by W. Geiger, who translated the text, whereas the original Pāli text is altogether silent about the place occupied by the four suns. Przyluski retains therefore his own interpretation of the four wheels on the Sārnāth pillar and proposes to look for the four precious stones of the *Mahāvamsa* on as many pillars set up in front of the entrances of the enclosure of the stūpa.

It is regrettable that W. Geiger does not say whether his parenthesis is based on a commentary or on a Singhalese translation or whether it belongs to his own imagination. Still, his explanation is possible and the following fact will show it.

Contemporary stūpas in Cambodia and Siam have their bell shapes frequently decorated with four (or eight) rosettes which are regularly oriented. It does not seem that one attaches to them any other idea besides that of embellishment or ornamentation. Considering however the sacred character of the stūpa, it would be surprising indeed, if this decoration would be modern and not derived from some ancient tradition. Unfortunately however, and in Ceylon especially, this decoration, if it has existed, has altogether disappeared along with the stucco which covered the structures.

One fairly ancient example however, in metal, is known to me. It is a small bronze reliquary in the shape of a stūpa and is now in the Musée National in Bangkok (Fig. p. 40). It comes from the region of Sup'an (Western Siam) and, considering its style still impregnated with Khmer influence, it cannot be later than the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The bell shape of the stūpa is encircled by a rich band with four small rosettes in the four directions. Each had been encrusted with a precious stone and these have disappeared.

The existence of this small piece enables us to ask whether it is, not a miniature rendering of what the Mahāvamsa means to describe, and whether king Saṅghatissa did not in fact place his four gems on the body of the stūpa itself, into the centre of stucco rosettes representing suns. In this way the interpretation by P. Mus would regain all its value.

Concludingly, I must say that I do not mean to take sides in the discussion. I am satisfied to contribute a document which seems fit to throw some light on the subject.

Transl.

THREE NORTHERN CURRENTS IN THE ART OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

By JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI

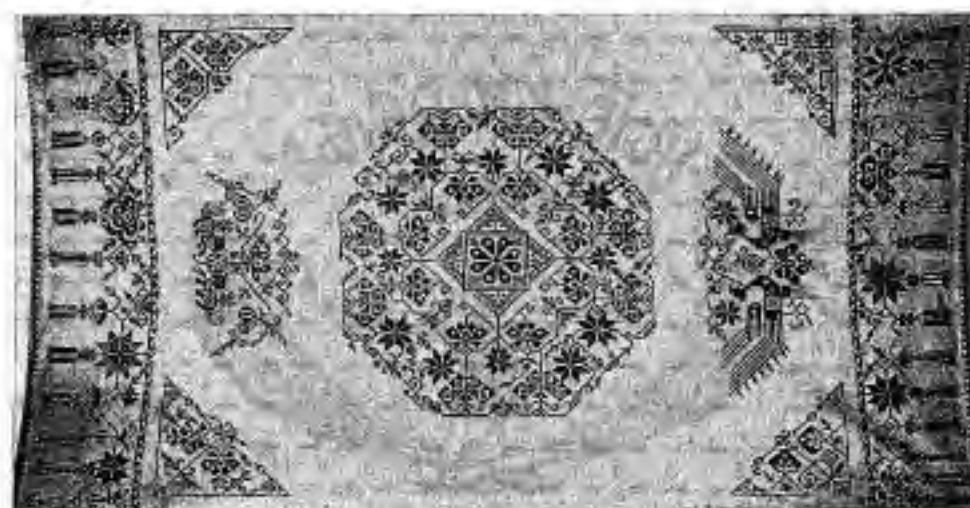
Do we actually know the soul of the Indian people from its art? And whom should we consider as Indians? The indigenous people of the south, the immigrated peoples of the north, the dynasties who at times had the power in hand, the various religions or, finally, the yogin? I cannot answer the question and only want to show into which direction it seems to point to-day. In this connection I draw attention to Eastern Asia and especially to China¹. All of us were greatly surprised when but recently an art tradition was discovered which has nothing whatever to do with Chinese art as we know it. Yet it seems to have been practised for thousands of years by the peasant women of the western provinces. We have to revert to the prehistoric age or, as I call it, to the age of the zones of the earth and of the north currents of art, in order to grasp how such things are possible in China. Is there something similar to it in India?

During recent years documents of a popular Chinese art are becoming known in large numbers. As regards the origin, they seem to be older than all the "high art" and they deserve the liveliest attention of the explorer of art. Hitherto no attention has been paid to them as the documents are in the possession of peasant families in innermost China, i. e. in the western provinces. They could only be discovered by explorers with a knowledge of the Chinese language and who could extract them

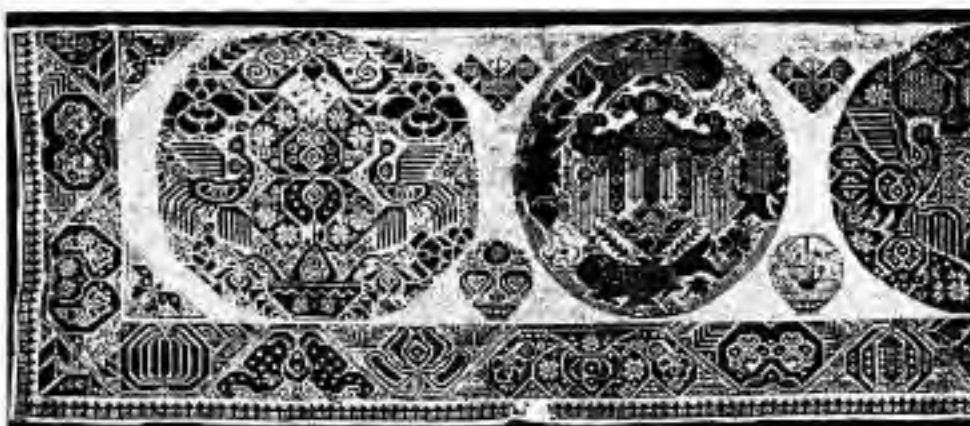
1. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* XII, 1937; cf. the report of a lecture in the *Ostasiatische Gesellschaft* at Berlin on the 9th February, 1937.



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from the hidden store of the single peasant families. For about the last two generations they are no longer made by the women of the household; cheap things are bought from dealers, instead. European factory-made materials have altogether ousted the ancient and noble heritage. It is important that the Chinese peasant art of Shensi, Kansu, Szechuan and Hunan becomes known and that investigations are made whether India allows analogous statements to be made.

The embroideries I have in mind and of which I owe the knowledge to Dr. Karl Schuster, serve as bed-clothes: they are mostly hangings, 2 m long and 40 cm wide, and also pillow-cases, all made of cotton in the ordinary linen weave. Decorative bands (Pl. VI, Figs. 1 a, b) are stitched on to the bed sheet and hang from the bed in front. The decoration on white ground is executed with blue cotton and in cross-stitch. These embroideries must not be confused with those meant for wearing apparel. For the latter purpose different varieties were used, for instance Kimono fabrics, such as have lately been collected in Japan and exhibited in Europe by Natori, besides the 'wishing clothes' dyed in Batik wise, and the well known fashionable 'naturalistic' embroideries, worn by the upper social strata. Soon all of these will be on view in Japan in an Ethnological Museum. Has India anything of that kind? Here we shall deal with the hangings of the Chinese peasant bed.

Schuster has sent me some samples from his collection which already numbers more than thousand pieces, in order to give me a direct impression of the material and the technique employed. Pl. VI, Fig. 2 shows a pillow cover belonging to the most important type of bed hangings, worked with cross stitch in blue cotton. The pattern is significant inasmuch as it reveals a close connection between these peasant embroideries and the so-called oriental carpet. The distribution of the pattern on the ground, at least in the present case, is the same; a rosette in the centre, repeated in its four parts in the corners and accompanied by motives along the longitudinal axis, and in the present case, by marginal tassels. The main examples of this type however are bed-curtains of which I have already published one of the finest (Fig. 1) in my book "Spuren indogermanischen Glaubens". Schuster has combined in one chart the most frequently occurring 'leit-motives'. About these we shall speak later.

Apart from the cross stitch embroideries, there are other varieties

in variegated colours and with motives of scenery and figures; they show popular customs, proverbs and maxims, in pictures¹.

To give an idea of the leading motives which extend far beyond China and Asia, a geometrical embroidery, and not worked in cross stitch, may be mentioned. It comes from the province Shansi from one of the once prosperous hamlets in the surroundings of Taiyüanfu. Amongst its devices are svastikas in an endless pattern combined with diagonal meanders; the svastika turned to the right and placed in the diagonal, is most frequently used as a filling. With corresponding patterns I have dealt already in my work on Amida and here I want to draw attention to the Goesser vestment in Vienna, which is representative of a widely diffused group in the West.

For the last two generations, flooded by cheap European factory made goods, the peasants stopped their ancient home industry. The western provinces mainly concerned are: Shensi, Kansu, Szechuan and Yunnan.

Let us now approach the being itself, i. e. the essence of these cross-stitch works of women's popular art in Eastern Asia. During the last ten thousand years, there are in art three essentially different types, two of which have been established by the end of the ice-age. I divide them according to three earth-belts, a warm one in the south around the equator, a cold one in the north around the pole, both on the northern hemisphere. The former, as is evident from the palaeolithic age onwards, is ruled by a rendering of natural form, the latter, according to our knowledge of neolithic finds, is governed by geometrical prototypes, i. e. the figures of animals are transformed geometrically to an extent which makes them scarcely recognisable; the third belt, which came into existence last of all and between the two belts

1. These must have become known long ago. I own myself such a band, the border of a broad sleeve of a woman's dress. Its embroideries refer to the happy birth of a child. This multi-coloured embroidery was bought from a dealer in Peiping. It comes from Shansi and dates from the 18th-19th century. Silk embroidery on three-thread-net. From left to right are shown: 1. Tiger on mountain. 2. The monkey Sun u kung steals the peach of longevity from the garden of the western queen; hare and cow next to it, 3. Palace (?) 4. Silver shoe as a boat in water. 5. Pavilion between trees. 6. The boy Linhai plays with the three legged toad Tohan; woman. 7. The carp Liwei jumps through the dragon gate and is changed into a dragon (success of the education of the child). 8. Pavilion on a rock. 9. Pavilion on water. 10. Tiger with the royal sign Wang on his forehead, amongst bamboo in front of a house. 11. Word play Hsi Tohao; birds with plum blossoms, and the counterpart of it in the opposite direction.

to the north and to the south, lies in Europe around the Mediterranean. I call it the zone of worldly power. It is only in this zone that the wall built of squared stones and the representation of the human figure are of the utmost importance. The partition into three zones is essential to European art; it is however of less consequence in Eastern Asia, India, etc.

In China, north and south are brought into immediate contact; no dividing middle intervenes as is the case with the Mediterranean belt in Europe or with the equator in America. Consequently also in art, the two types confront each other more immediately and spontaneously than in Europe.

It is necessary to recall that the southernmost part of China (Kanton, Hongkong) is situated on the tropic of Cancer; it reaches as far south as Calcutta or Assam, and touches the equatorial belt. We can only do justice to this southern zone in connection with Further India and the South-Sea (vide the ancient Chinese drums which contribute one of the many problems as yet unsolved). It is however the north with which we are here concerned.

A word must be said about the belt of worldly power which in Europe extends around the Mediterranean, and to both sides of the equator in America. Looking at a map we see this belt separated from the others by the Sahara and the Alps in Europe, and by the mountain ranges on either side of the equator, in Central America. Eastern Asia was left free of such a middle zone, the Himalaya stood in the way; the Egypto-Mesopotamian and Persian sphere of power was compelled to circumvent it, and the American could scarcely touch it. It seems to me as if in China the power factor would have reached full maturity in the Han tombs only. The expansion of Buddhism follows in its wake.

Now I approach the northern belt. It comprises the three currents which appear in the heading of the present paper. From time immemorial China belongs to one of these three currents. The being itself of north art we can thus approach from China as well as from Europe, especially in the art of the pre-Man age, as it is preserved in the many bronze vessels of the Shang, Yin and Chou periods. We are indebted to this day to the school of Lamprecht, to the investigations by Muth and Hoerschelmann; at a time when there was scarcely any contact established as yet in Europe with the art history of Eastern Asia, these scholars dealt with just these

documents, and on the basis of the Pokutulu. Here we are not dealing with these relics. Another north art must have existed by the side of them, the one with which we are especially concerned at present, i. e. the cross stitch embroideries; this practice has remained alive almost to this day with the peasant women of western China. It is not connected with the art in bronze which belonged to feudal nobility and it goes its own ways. It seems that a second north current coming from western Asia is active in these cross stitch embroideries. This will be proved in the course of this paper. Now let us consider the north belt in general and the value which the art of the people has in this connection.

The art of the people is timeless. According to academical opinion till recently it was thought to have no value and was accordingly passed over with silence. Actually it is dying out and if the academical attitude which is one with that of worldly power, is to continue, it might soon appear as if it had never existed.

It appears, however, as if this art of the people could introduce us, in Eastern Asia even more than in Europe—and better than pre-history which itself already has become academical—to the basis on which history rests. It helps us to gain, more convincingly than I could do it in 1924 in the first volume of the Year-book of Oriental Art, in an article on the 'Northern stream of art from Ireland to China', the impression of an artistically unanimous north, especially with regard to the absence of the human figure, at least in its imitative function.

The decisive questions in the history of art are in future: Why did the art of the south produce representations of the forms of nature? Why did the north produce form according to geometrical principles and why did the art of power make the human figure play the main part? Wipperfurth, in his book "Die Altersstufen der Kunst" 1927, tried to explain this by assuming one homogeneous process of 'becoming' in art. Actually however the development starts from three zones and from three north currents with a totally different approach to art. Let us revert to the north belt.

Craft is the largely decisive factor in the north as regards material and technique for the simple reason that most conscientious preparations are necessary for the winter. The south lacks altogether solidly built houses and warm wearing apparel. It is remarkable that the original modes of



Fig. 3

building, i. e. tents and wooden structures have been preserved in Eastern Asia. It actually looks as if the building traditions of north and south would have come into immediate contact in Eastern Asia, for stone structures which are peculiar to the zone of power scarcely exist there. Stone as a building material is neglected, wood, metal and fibrous textures predominate (cf. however India; are nevertheless peasant embroideries to be found there of a

distinctly northern type ?).

Let us now consider some of the decisive meanings and their symbols in all north art. Foremost amongst them are the time emblems. Modern man lives with the watch in his hand and his time is divided mathematically even to seconds. But think of the north in inter-glacial periods and what the long winter night and the short summer day must have meant to it. It is then understood that most of the preserved art of north peoples deals with emblems indicating time and that the animal symbols, at least originally, have to be understood in this sense.

One of the most peculiar formations of this kind is the so-called "fish-bird initial". It was first observed where it appears most conspicuously, i. e. in old Germanic and younger Armenian and Coptic manuscripts. I found that the 'leitmotif' itself of fish and bird, i. e. not employed as initial, is widely current in Siberian art, in the ancient works in gold as well as in the art of the Amur peoples to-day (Fig. 3). This occurrence furnishes one of the most significant instances as to whether the question, asked at first by ethnology and then by universal history, is justified regarding an independent appearance in the most diverse parts of the earth or whether an origin in one definite locality and dissemination under certain conditions are to be assumed, i. e. in the present instance the Eurasiatic north or Amerasiatic art current. In China, the fish-bird 'leitmotif' occurs on mirrors of the Huai Valley; cf. "Spuren".

Deserving greatest attention is a world-game of immeasurable antiquity; it occurs fairly recently and within the old traditions, in Eastern



Fig. 4

Asia as well as in Mexico. In one of our Chinese peasant embroideries (Fig. 4) dominoes are placed on the cross in the centre and four women sit in the corners of the square surrounding the cross with its lozenge star-shaped ends. At the axes "mountains" project with "trees" and underneath them are pairs of fishes. The Mexican version (Fig. 5) shows once more the cross centrally situated; it is marked here with signs of the Patolli game; again the four women are there. C. Schuster (*Man*, Sept. 1936, p. 149, f.) and Borck "The history of the world picture" (*Ex Oriente Lux* iii, 1930 p. 134 f.) may be consulted in order to see how this cosmical game is to be interpreted in connection with the Sumerians and Babylonians.

It has already been pointed out that the human figure is not 'depicted' in the north zone and that the animal predominates, geometrically transformed by oblique cut and perforation of the material used. With this I have exhaustively dealt in my works on 'Altai-Iran' and on 'Asia', and I need not enter into it any further. More important it seems to me at present to point once more to the blue peasant embroideries. Schuster has already compiled a chart of motives ("Embroidery" 1935, p. 87, f.). Leit-motives are scroll and animal; the human figure occurs exceptionally only.

The most remarkable fact, as mentioned already, about these blue peasant embroideries in cross stitch is the coincidence of their motives with those of another product of the art of the people in Asia proper, i. e. the so-called oriental carpet. At the first glance the pattern without end is conspicuous. It is cut off by a frame; quartered, the central piece is repeated in the four corners. Apart from this the single motives themselves incessantly suggest comparison with those of the carpets. No scholarly work on carpets will, in future, be possible without reference to the Chinese material. In this way, High Asia, West Asia and Asia Minor are connected. The meaning however underlying the motives, compels us to see even much wider connections, with Europe in the West, and in the



Fig. 5

East with America. Ultimately the Eurasiatic and the Amerasiatic are fused in the unity of the north belt. The most surprising fact in this connection is that prehistory is supplemented by conclusions 'a posteriori' from the present. This comes as surprisingly as it is fruitful. The meaning of the symbol, prehistory had to leave untouched; ethnology however can deal with it to a large extent. This I have tried to show in the "Spuren" with reference to Europe; here I would like similarly to draw attention to East Asiatic art.

The several currents of the north we can view as one unity then only if we realise that their form expresses one and the same deeply connected inner meaning. It must, of course, be understood that point, line, surface and cube by themselves are better suited to express inner meaning than are the human figure and the mode in which it is depicted. The Amerasiatic bronzes of ancient China supply a sample chart unique in this respect; about this later on.

European history of art, in the past has been mainly occupied with the interpretation of the art of the zone of worldly power; its concern on the whole was with the human figure. It had forgotten to see inner meaning and mistakes for it the expression and the rendering of emotions, of pathos; mimics, gestures, etc. The true inner meaning is scarcely taken notice of by scholars when it does occur in the works of a few outstanding masters and this is worse still with regard to the anonymous art of a whole people. The only way however to an understanding of art is to start with the art of the people. To the historian these anonymous works mean nothing, whereas they lead the explorer into ages when men lived not according to the small human measure but according to cosmical measure. Outwardly the achievements of their civilisations may have been humble.

With regard to understanding the inner meaning of the first stage of north art, the Amer-Asiatic-Atlantic, art history had to rely partly on the conclusions 'a posteriori' from the art of power of the ancient orient, and partly on the researches by H. Wirth; regarding, however, the second stage, i. e. the Indo-Germanic, and its after effects, materials abound in art history to an extent scarcely shared by any other discipline. Hellas and Iran enable me to see the unity of the entire north art of the second, i. e. the Indo-European stage. The same contents which for the first time

had come from the world, itself broken to pieces in its centre, of the Amer-Asiatic East and the Atlantic West, advance for the second time from the north European seas into the southern peninsulas, specially also into India : The seeking and knowledge of man's oneness with nature and the universe, imparts a simple and spontaneous grace and ease to those who carry it. The fears and terrors of life and death do not leave their impress on them originally. Although we are familiar with this attitude in the ancient art of Hellas we do not as yet know that of Iran and of the actual and original north, prior to the Indo-European migrations, by which it also became carried into the zones of power, to the south.

What is the reason that all of us, more or less, have an impression that the enormous country of Eastern Asia, saturated as it is with art, is yet not its cradle, and that some stimulation took place from outside ? How is it that on the whole we are inclined to think of art as immigrated from somewhere instead of allowing it an indigenous origin from the beginning at the spot where we find it ? Possibly because we are uncertain everywhere ; relevant regions of origin have not been envisaged as yet. The high north of the ice-age however would be such a region. From there I trace three currents of art : the one, the Amer-Asiatic, I discussed in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* XI, p. 165 f ; the second, the Indo-European has been introduced in "Spuren indo-germanischen Glaubens in der Bildenden Kunst," a book which specially deals with it and the third, the Atlantic stream is being treated by me in a work on "Europas Machtkunst in Rahmen des Erdkreises." Now at last we have reached the actual subject of the present article.

* * *

Hitherto we have been speaking of the north belt in general and not as yet in detail, of its three north currents of art. They are essentially related inasmuch as they do not employ the human figure as representation and make use, not of stone, but of perishable building materials. Which place does Eastern Asia occupy in relation to these three currents ? and India ?

The present views are tentative. We have to deal with three art currents which I assume have originated in interglacial periods high up in the north which is now entirely covered by ice. They extended south-

wards about the age in which prehistory speaks of palaeolithic art, an art of the ice age in the south.

I do not make palaeolithic art the starting point of my investigations. It is by chance only that its documents have been preserved. I start from the later products of Eastern Asiatic tradition and on this efflorescence I base my reflections about the past in which they have their roots.

The north currents of art start from the pole at a time when an interglacial period becomes displaced by a new ice age. At such moments the polar settlers are expelled radially. They are compelled to migrate into all the directions of the three continents that reach up to the pole. If we look at a map of the polar regions of the present day, it is obvious that men could settle only in the countries of north Asia and across Alaska and Canada as far as Greenland.

In order to investigate northern man in interglacial periods, we must abandon the present division of the globe into five continents. Instead we have to see one mass of land. In the north it connects the two arms of the ocean, i. e. the Atlantic and the Pacific. This country became divided into three, in interglacial periods. It is there, that northern humanity, fighting for its existence and having to live through the long winter night, developed its peculiar inner attitude to life. This I have shown in "Spuren." Now we have to consider the movements only which, following upon the last ice age, prompted northern people to emigrate.

Prehistoric humanity was mobile. Migration of people in our sense, does not refer to the Germanic, and contemporary High Asiatic movements only, which took place overland from the north and the east. There are much earlier migrations, over land as well as over seas, prompted, it seems, by the ice age and the interglacial periods.

The migrations across the sea, do not, it seems, take place on the southern, but predominantly on the northern hemisphere, i. e. in the two seas which extend to the pole, i. e. in the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. Frobenius however also considers a migration of people in the Indian Ocean. This has to be kept in mind especially with regard to Eastern Asia. Still, it is difficult to see what should have prompted it. Did ice age settlements exist also in the south?

The migrations overland took place in three continents: America in the middle, Asia in the west, Europe in the east, Canada connecting

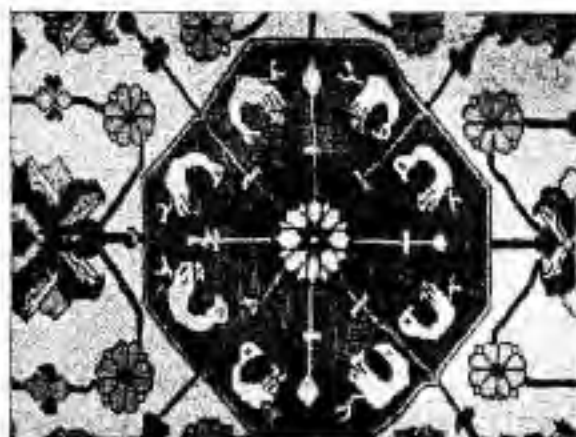
north Asia and north Europe (Greenland). These three continents are of as much importance as the two oceans. Asia is not concerned in the first instance with the Atlantic, but with the Amer-Asiatic branch of peoples around the Pacific; and secondly with the Indo-Germanic, which started most probably from Greenland, Iceland and Spitzbergen. Eastern Asia, plays a part within the whole of Asia, akin to that of France in small Europe; it intercepts migrations—and in the same latitude. The Pacific here, as well as the Atlantic there, cut off overland movements and carry the migrations across the sea. This has to be considered in Eastern Asia as well as in Western Europe. Now let us consider the three north currents with reference to China.

I. The Pacific or Amer-Asiatic current of art. It was by studying Eastern Asia that I was compelled to understand that the Pacific ocean comprises one single art current: again and again most strikingly related traits were conspicuous this side and that side, in Asia as well as in America. They may have been brought via the Behring Strait or the South-Sea islands; such attempts at explanation refer however to one and the same thing.

We shall have to start from the fact that Eastern Asia is a Pacific, and at the same time Asiatic, country. Based on the facts of art-production moreover, it can scarcely be doubted that it had been distinctly a north country, up to the Han period; it is only from then onwards that traits begin to appear which are distinctly reminiscent of the art around the Mediterranean. This will have to be dealt with in connection with the Atlantic current of art.

Speaking about the peasant embroideries we had already to refer to Central America in connection with the occurrence of the cosmical time game. Formerly it has been assumed that in the Tang period intercourse existed between China and Mexico. As already shown in the "*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1935", I see things in a different light. Now-a-days nobody doubts any longer the antiquity of the pre-Han bronzes. They are the most important witnesses to me. It is just the most ancient pieces from Anyang which most clearly show connections with Central American Maya structures.

It is scarcely necessary any more to speak at length about one 'leitmotif' as being Pacific, i. e. the eye ornament. One should have thought the



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substantial treatise by Heinrich Schurtz in the "Abhandl. der phil.-hist. Kl. der Saechs. Akad. der Wiss. XV, No. 22 (Leipzig 1895)" should have sufficed to make impossible the senseless opinion that the eye ornament in China could ever be indebted to Mediterranean influence (Wickhoff). This I discussed already in 1903 in the "Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsamml." in an article on "silk fabrics from Egypt; mutual effects of China, Persia and Syria in the late classical period." In this connection I also spoke about a woven silk fabric from Egypt, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, which, judging from its motives appears to have come from America, via China.

Next to the eye ornament and the connected Taotieh motif, are the peculiar "ornaments" as we usually say, which together with the eye, appear laterally next to the face in the shape of strangely thickened spirals. Material, plentiful in this respect, has been found at Anyang. It is enough to refer to the examples which Palmgren has put together in the last issue of 1936 of the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*. Pl. VII, Fig. 6 shows one of the three vases of the Netzu collection, typical of the Yin style. Their four-legged body has eight ridges of the water emblem of which I have exhaustively spoken in "Spuren." It consists of meander devices produced by straight and T shaped incisions. These have now become very familiar to us. We know them from later mosaic art which originated in Iran. In Anyang the motives are still directly Amerasiatic like the animal and Taotieh figures that fill the surfaces between the ridges; there the thick spiralic pads are the horns of the Taotieh. With these have to be compared the decorations of some Central American Maya buildings (Pl. VII, Fig. 7).

H. J. Spinden "A study of Maya art" 1913, has compiled 'leitmotives' of Central American art, in the manner of Salin, with reference to northern Europe, and of Muth, Hoerschelmann and Palmgren, with regard to China. There we find the face surrounded by spirals (p. 145) and pre-eminent on the temples (for instance Hochob) the padded spirals, singly, in pairs, rows or groups. Following Hentze, they could be taken for signs of a script, and the sickle shaped volutes in ancient China as also in Maya civilisation could be considered lunar crescents (cf. my work on Asiatic art, p. 692).

North America, it is clear, is not outside the general evolution of the north, as we know it from facts observed in Europe and Asia. I have in mind a western and an eastern art circle, the one on the Pacific ocean

and the other to either side of the Missisipi in U. S. This I need not tell to Americanists whereas investigations into the history of art lack clear insight into these facts. I found in the Totem pillars for instance from British Columbia and exhibited in the large American Peabody Museums, a mixture of tribal signs, which show clear affinities with the Turkish tribal coats of arms, dealt with by Berchem in my work on Amida. The eye ornament there, moreover, is one in origin with that of the Chinese bronzes. The north Asiatic animal motif, it is apparent, has its continuation on the western coasts of America. I have visited within a brief interval, schools in the Indian Reservation near Syracuse near the south shore of lake Ontario and subsequently in Finland. It was surprising to see the related formations of cranium, hair and eyes of children in the two ends of the north on either side of Asia.

There is one single distinctly non-northic trait in the art of the Asiatic north. It does not occur in the European north. It makes one surmise that there, in the age of man and his artistic activity certain geological happenings must have played a part. This trait is the more noteworthy as its consequences are apparent later on, in Europe as well as in America. I am referring to the employment of the animal in ornaments.

A strong predilection predominates in the whole of Siberia during the last millenia, for using the figure of the animal in any sort of ornament. We have to investigate its meaning and explain its evolution. First a few examples.

Pl. VII, Fig. 8 shows a "roll-animal" from Siberia, about 600 B. C., heavily cast in gold (Eremitage). Neck and body make a semicircle, on one end the head, on the other one leg, in the middle approximately the second leg. The legs and also the tail terminate in circles which must originally have been filled with a coloured substance. Pl. VII, Fig 9, another Siberian find (Eremitage), is the buckle of a belt heavily cast in gold and consists of pairs of animals. Rolled animals in the two inner ends have birds' heads with rounded beaks and large eyes. These are repeated on the S shaped motives of the outer ends. Beside these, there are fishes and, right at the outer ends, heads, etc.

New and valuable documents of this north Asiatic type of work have been collected by the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, from the American as well as for the Asiatic side. Berthold Laufer, "The decorative art of

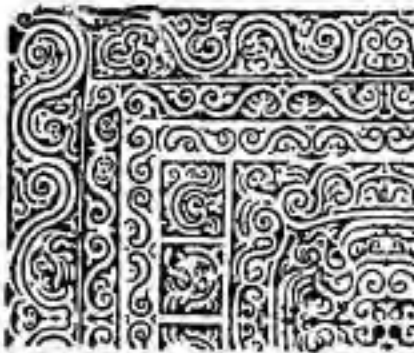


Fig. 10

the Amur tribes" (Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. VII, 1902) shows works made of birch-tree bark and also embroideries, and demonstrates that the decorations of these peoples are permeated by motives of the cock, fish, dragon and plants (Fig 10). Re. the basic motif, the geometrical scroll and its occurrence, cf. my work "Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung", 1917.

I have only touched upon the decoration of wearing apparel and implements in Siberia. In future, it will be necessary first of all to deal with the original mode of habitation. Indications how to proceed are given by an examination of the funerary architecture of the Kurgans, as well as of the contemporary mode of dwelling. Equally strange and remarkable as the occurrence of the animal in the art of the Asiatic north is also the fact that stones, more or less pictorial, were set up and also that pictorial representations occur on rocks.

II. The Amer-European or Atlantic art current. Hitherto and apart from the migration of southern man northwards in the wake of the receding ice, everything in Asia had been east movement: the Amer-asiatic current, from the beginning of the last ice age urges on from the high north, back to the continent. The Mesopotamian art of power, Scythian art, La Tène and also the High Asiatic migrations are connected with this movement. The last ice age however had set into motion also other masses of people, such as the Atlantics who had entered the Mediterranean. This name I do not derive from the supposedly submerged "Atlantis," but but from the Atlantic ocean in contrast to the Pacific ocean. The latter slowly receded and a west movement set in which became especially conspicuous with the rise of the Egyptian power. This movement is characterized as said already, by the use of hewn stone, or brick respectively, and by the human figure. I am of opinion that ultimately the Han period can be traced back to this movement which went across Mesopotamia.

In China, the Atlantic art current is the least conspicuous of the three movements which have their origin in the north. It is intercepted

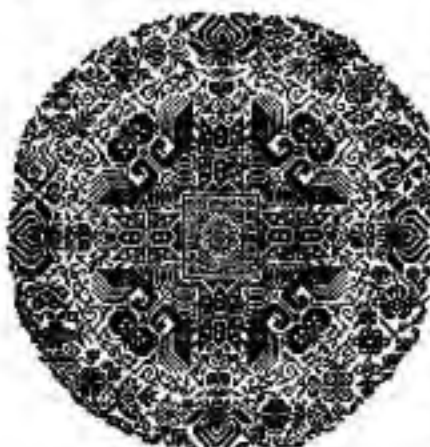


Fig. 11

figures. Dissolutions result on either side ; restlessness is their result. The Han reliefs are conspicuous by their strange formation of house, tree and also of the human figure ; we might be inclined to think that special races are indicated. Actually, however, these art forms result from a friction between 'power' and the north. The sturdy and rounded appearance of the horse is due to the pleasure experienced by drawing the fluent lines. In the Wu tomb the scrolls and stripes of pleated bands are to be noted. They are the origin of the form of the figured representations.

Peasant art however, though younger by millenia as far as actual examples go, preserves, and this is the most noteworthy fact, the true and original meaning and its motives far more faithfully than does the art of the court, the church or of any body representative of the educated class. The single artist there is scarcely aware of any longer, nor does he venerate as the man of the people does, the meaning, cosmical in the main, which tradition has put into his cradle from time immemorial. The historians however base their calculations on the most ancient dates of objects preserved by chance. They must be wrong.

Let us take another piece of Chinese peasant embroidery (Fig. 11 ; Schuster, *Embroidery*, 1935 p. 92). It shows the circular decoration of a bed hanging : a square filled by a rosette, in the centre, trees of life in the axes, birds and pairs of pomegranates in the diagonals. A contemporary piece may be held against a printed silk fabric from Tun Hua g and of Tang date (Pl. VII, Fig. 12). The central rosette and the pairs of birds in the diagonal are present there also and so is the circular shape

by the Mediterranean ; in America again it does not pass across the border ranges of the hills and does not reach the Pacific coast. It has to be considered inasmuch only as it is responsible for an art of power round the Mediterranean. This has been discussed already in connection with the middle belt.

Might and power on the one, and the north on the other hand also meet, with a clash, in East Asia. 'Power' carries with it the human figure whereas the north is equally insistent on geometrical and animal

while the square with the trees of life is omitted in this case as well as in a Pei. animal-carpet of the seventeenth century (Pl. VII, Fig. 13). The latter however preserves, more faithfully than the Tang piece, the trees of life and the ducks with heads turned back. Yet, the square and the peculiar fields of which the square is composed, are they negligible? One comparing glance on Fig. 4, p. 48, the peasant embroidery with the domino world play, another on Pl. VI, Fig. 1 (the circle with the square) will show that an old pattern of the game of life, with life trees and birds, has been used decoratively, with little charm though, and an impoverished meaning, in the sumptuous examples, whereas the peasant has faithfully preserved the original image, true to millennial tradition.

III. The Eurasiatic or Indo-European art current. Once more I call attention to the aspect of the earth on which rests this entire mode of seeing things, i. e. a land-bridge in the high north connecting the Atlantic and Pacific. We have come to know the Amer-Asiatic and also the Amer-European (Atlantic) art stream; the third north stream now remains; it does not cross any of these seas. By land it passes from Europe (Greenland) eastwards on to Asia: the Indo-European stream. It is the one most strongly effective in China in post-Han times; possibly however it is older there than the stream of might and power.

One of its 'leitmotives' is the figure of the Kwannon. Its profound significance and that of the corresponding figures: Yima (Iranic); Moira (Hellenic); Walter (German) have been dealt with in my book "Duerer und der nordische Schicksalshain". Next to this, and akin to such cherished Indo-European motives as:—the tree of life, in connection with water, cf. "Spuren"; the vase of plenty; the horizontal zigzag line emblematic of water (it occurs in European neolithic pottery and is frequent in Chinese embroideries (cf. Schuster, 'Man', Dec. 1936); or the wavy scroll, of the European Rococo (cf. "Altai-Iran"; the wavy scroll with circular leaves or filled by palmettes spread, it seems, from Minussinks and High Asia, to Europe and to Eastern Asia) and connected in China with the landscape (Tamamushi shrine, and the recent finds in the Huai valley and Korea which show this connection) be of a more ancient date, (cf. pl. VII, Fig. 14, inlaid tube of the Hosokawa collection; it gives an idea of ancient Chinese "Landscape-Rococo"),—the most important aspect of Indo-European connectedness in East Asia, is the type of landscape found in Ravenna, Ajanta (cf. St.

Kramrisch, *A Survey of Painting in the Deccan*, 1937) and in the Horiuji temple. This type of landscape radiated from Iran, to the west, the south and the east; I have attempted to reconstruct this in my work on "Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei".

The three north currents of art, in all of which East Asia participates, were constituted at a time when the earth had not as yet been divided into five continents. At that time the countries around the north pole, between the Atlantic and the Pacific seem to have been of prime importance.

Spectator. I have begun the work of my life with the history of art, proceeding from classical archaeology to the history of the art of later periods. I have worked in both the disciplines, archaeology and art history. This, in general, is also the aim of classical archaeology at present, dealing as it now does, with ancient Christian, Islamic and Indian art. This has led me to comparative researches in art. I mention this only to show the beginning of a life work which led me to draw ethnology, or more precisely, the art of the people (cf. my work: *Aufgang des Nordens*) into the field surveyed. It is of the greatest importance that this comparative method sees the meaning and significance of art forms across time and space and builds its system on this base. The Chinese consider their culture to go back to the remotest past. They must be right for their artistic tradition presents to this day witnesses which have come from remotest antiquity. The so-called philological-historical method enables us to lay the foundations; dated facts however are not sufficient for building up a system of comparative research in art. The forms and their meaning and the forces at work in them are the building material of the expert.

The simple cross stitch embroideries made by Chinese women enable us to see deeper into the heart of the Chinese people than the bulk of the "major" works from the Han period onwards. There must be similar products of domestic industry, made by the women of India. The northern parts of India especially where again and again people immigrated from the north into a sub-tropical country would have to be investigated. In a short article "The nature of folk-lore and popular art" (*The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore XXVII) Coomaraswamy approaches the subject from India in a similar manner as I have done in the present paper, from China. Following René Guénon he points out the

importance of the art of the people, for researches in prehistory. He is altogether right (cf. my book "Krisis der Geisteswissenschaften, 1923) when he says: "The peasant may be unconscious and unaware, but that of which he is unconscious and unaware is in itself far superior to the empirical science and realistic art of the "educated" man, whose real ignorance is demonstrated by the fact that he studies and compares the data of folklore and "Mythology" without any more than the most ignorant peasant suspecting their real significance".

Transl.



HAS BRAHMĀ FOUR FACES ?

By P. MUS

The god Brahmā has sometimes four faces. This at least is the current opinion based on a concord of images and texts. 'Caturmukha', with four faces, the latter prescribe, and the former ingeniously conform. Painters, and sculptors of low reliefs only in very exceptional cases execute a four-headed monster. Generally they give it three heads, one in front, and two in profile view. But then, the fourth is behind the picture. In works in the round, the chisel has greater freedom. The three dimensions are at its disposal. The god is circumambulated and so he will have his four faces.

How to interpret this curiosity? What are its mythological foundations? Art history thought it more prudent not to run any risk and to accept the fact as it is, taking for granted that India has a deforming vision of the divine and that the exuberance of her genius delights in the enormous. This is proved by Hinduism and by Buddhism, with their idols having 5, 6, 10, 11 heads and 6, 8, 10, 12, 16, 20 and 1000 arms.

Has India no kind of justification to show for such plastic aberrations? The answers she could give have been summarily disposed of. In the relatively simple case which concerns us, if she says for instance either that each of the four mouths of Brahmā is consecrated to the teaching of one Veda, or else that his four faces are derived from the 1000 faces of Prajāpati-Viśvakarman, an idea the sources of which one can trace back to the cosmical giant with 1000 faces, 1000 hands, 1000 feet, etc. whom the *Puruṣasūkta* (RV. X. 90) celebrates—then in the opinion of her critics, the first explanation appears as a distinctly secondary development while they take the second for a rash attempt to interpret against all logic, the simple by the composite and 4 by 1000, deepening the darkness instead of dissipating it: "ad obscurum per obscurius." Conclusion: If India possesses

only uncertain fables in order to account herself for the products of her plastic imagination, she is, as far as these are concerned, in about the same position as we are. She has given them to herself and so she has to accept them as facts and need not philosophize about them any further. Wiser still, let us adhere to facts, and avoid fables, or, in any case, let us not mix fables with the solid fact.

Such is the "objective" method, to which, it is but just to acknowledge, Indian archaeology and iconography owe their progress : one does not risk anything if one adheres to facts.

It is however for this very reason that one should not be satisfied with half a fact.

A statue of Brahmā with four faces, 'upavīta', rosary, flask, pedestal and label, is not a fact. Or it is nothing but a museographical fact. The other half of it has remained outside : may be that long ago it has delved into the Indian soil which has taken it back to itself. We are speaking of the temple. The veritable fact was the statue in the temple, or better still, the cult which in the course of time eventually made the Hindu temple constructed, and the statue carved and placed in the temple. As far back as this, the objective mind has to go, if it desires the entire object.

If this is done (we have in the texts, from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa onwards guidance enough to make the effort successful) not much strangeness will remain, nor mythology, in the detached piece which the four-faced statue is ; it remains incomprehensible if it is examined materially. But this is actually not the same thing as an objective examination.

The cult of the divine defines itself in India by 'pradakṣiṇā', the turn to the right which is accomplished by constantly presenting the right hand to the object intended to be honoured. In this way one mimes the course of the sun, that is to say duration made concrete, the day, or above all, the year, which according to convention is equal to time entire.

The procession miming the course of time passes, as it goes on, through different times. Each otient answers to a season or to an age (Yuga) of which the Great Year (Kalpa) is made. According to different standards 'pradakṣiṇā', Year, 'Kalpa' are like concentric circles traced around the god. Thus seen the rite is a communion with the world.

Fables ? may be. They are those which the craftsmen had in mind.

Of them they thought when disposing the sacred objects in a manner so as to serve the necessities of the cult and to hold the attention of the devotees. Brahmā 'caturmukha' proves this in his way, as the four Vedas put into his four mouths are exactly, according to a well established tradition, connected, each one of them with one of the four ages (Yuga) of the world : his faces are turned not only into four directions, but toward four Epochs.

The 'pradakṣiṇā' is essentially dramatic. Technically it is a mystery. The statue is equal to the god and the temple is equal to the world. The statue in the temple is the god in the world and the procession of the devotees to the right around the temple corresponds to the course of time in the world. They "play" the year.

It was this, no doubt, that recommended the practice to the masses. By participating in the time of the world, one regulates it. Such 'sympathetic' procedures are sufficiently known. By making a waxen image of a man and then melting it, the man is doomed to death. Similarly, if one performs 'pradakṣiṇā', in good order and with devotion, or differently expressed, a small ritual year, around the god, the time which comes will be in order also. The year will be a good one. A phantastical idea, if you like, but it is not without beauty and force. It unites the active promise on the side of the devotees, of a year of faith, mimed in advance, and, on the side of the god, the obligation to preside, in the near future, over a favourable cycle, over a good year.

The procession thus passes dramatically from one epoch to come to another, anticipating time to come, while at the same time it moves from one orient to another. And the god? After having received the devotees at the beginning of the "mystery" when they arrived facing the sanctuary, —will he cease from being turned towards them? If every station of the course to the right pre-figures a time, it is indispensable that during this time, the god, in some manner, presents his face to the devotees.

An immobile statue is badly adapted to a mode of worship which wants to unite the times and the spaces by making circulate across them, the movement of duration. That the image may not lose sight of the procession, it would be best to carry the temple along with it. Actually one has thought of this. Witness the gigantic chariot of Jagannāth ; it has the appearance of a real temple built on wheels, and the god is within ; he proceeds along with the crowd and at the same pace.

This solution, however, is costly and India has not failed to devise more economical artifices so as to communicate to an immobile object and without having to move it, a certain affinity with the 'pradakṣiṇā.' If the stations at the four orients of a sacred site are four dates, four faces lent to the god will suffice to correspond to the dates and will figure as four moments of divine favour.

The four Vedas, we just said, refer each to a world age. The four faces then of Brahmā are not really simultaneous. Four mouths do not hurl simultaneously the sacred word, to the four winds of space. These four teachings are successive. The god, in himself, is of entirely human appearance. He turns, however, towards the four directions so as to utter four times the four-fold Veda.

Why then has he only one body? This symbolism can easily be rendered in good Sanskrit. The personification of the 'brahman', Brahmā is Unity by contrast with the diversity of forms which are manifest in the world. They are illusion. He is the absolute, the self, the 'ātman'. The last term, which is the pivot of Brahmanical thought, is also frequently shaped in a concrete manner: it is the trunk, contrasted with the limbs. If a single trunk is placed below the four faces which correspond to the world ages, does it not proclaim with all the eloquence of which the stone is capable, that the 'ātman' of the god subsists unchangeable across cosmical duration? In the last analysis this duration is nothing solid. Time is nothing. The 'ātman' is all. In it even the year is resorbed.

This will help us to explain a prescription of the Āgamas, quoted in Gopinath Rao's useful work: the image of the god should have one face only in a sanctuary with one single door, four faces if the sanctuary opens to the four winds. These four openings in the architectonic mass, around which the procession turns, are passages for the four glances of the image in the cardinal moments of the rite of circumambulation: unlike in the ritual of Jagannāth, the devotees do not carry their god with them. He waits for them as they pass. The procession coursing to the right meets the gates of the building and its diverse sections; these consequently compose a kind of calendar in stone along the ritual path. Correspondingly the mouths of the god 'caturmukha' are not four organs, but the same mouth at four epochs. Four dates. Altogether a plastic calendar.

In order to be convinced that this is not a secondary interpretation

but an essential trait, one has only to consult the most instructive antecedents within classical Indian architecture : the Brahmanical Agni, the great fire altar about which the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa has so much to say. There, not less than 10,800 bricks are employed, all in their prescribed place. 360 stones (parīṣṭ) arranged along the circumference of the altar were expressly connected with a day of the religious year. In this manner every element was a date, and the whole a calendar of the holy year.

In spite of the greater number of the peripheric elements, the analogy is complete with the 'monstrous' statues of the supreme god who has four cyclical faces. The altar was, in fact, the symbolical portrait of Prajāpati, the direct antecedent of Brahmā in the aspect of time. Prajāpati, according to tradition, is all the times : day, season, etc. and chiefly the Year, i. e. Time concrete and tangible. Each day, i. e. each stone 'parīṣṭ' thus marks a temporary personification, a "flash" of Prajāpati. The 360 aspects of Prajāpati however cannot be divided, for he is one. Their totality makes up his entire person in space. What is 360, if not just a number denoting a complete tour. In other terms, as taught by the Śatapatha it is infinite time, or its image. In order to count any time, far from having to go beyond this number, one has but to begin with it again and again, indefinitely. The meaning of the disposition is sufficiently apparent : as in the case of the four faces of Brahmā, there is, of course, no question of a discriminative number of stones or days but of their total, of a continuity which fundamentally is that of the god.

No other meaning can be given to the hymn X, 90 of the R̥gveda, which attributes 1000 faces to the great Puruṣa. 1000 faces mean 'face everywhere', face at the 360 degrees of the circumference of the horizon. The proof is ready at hand : In fact, the hymn invests Puruṣa with 1000 eyes. Yet his faces are not cyclopean. But his eye is everywhere, and so is his face.

Puruṣa with 1000 faces and 1000 eyes, Prajāpati with thousand faces, embodied also in 360 peripheral 'instants,' and Brahmā himself who with his four faces is their heir, all these are images in different numerical systems, illustrating the divinity's complete tour of the horizon. The numbers change. Their total however remains identical. It is not a number which enumerates. It is the mathematical symbol of a full circle.

The four faces of Brahmā are quadrants. In this manner 1000 as well as 360, in the sense of a whole, can well explain 4, without any twist of logic. The complete circumference denoted by these big numbers is logically anterior to its division into 4.

Gathering the forth-pouring nature of Prajāpati-Viśvakarman into a shape easier to carve, Brahmā 'caturmukha' needs but four faces in order to figure as the continuous manifestation, in all directions and at all times, of one unique god.

* * *

It is chiefly the learned Brahmanical circles in India who are interested in the 'ātman', in the 'brahman' and even in Brahmā. The latter, though lacking popular appeal, has preserved on that account a greater clarity and this may be of help, by its contrast, to elucidate Hindu rituals which are comparatively more dense, although indebted to him. For this very reason however, Brahmā remains fairly poor in external manifestations. In order to tackle them in all their wealth we shall have to address ourselves to the two other great gods of the Hindu trinity.

Two distinct orders of religious antecedents are joint in the traditions about Śiva and Viṣṇu as they were worshipped in medieval India. On the one hand they appear as magnified representatives of ancient local divinities, patrons of a territory and guarantors of its weather, harvest and general welfare. On the other hand they inherit wholesale the more abstract and sketched elaborations starting with "brahman" from the Brāhmaṇas to the old Upaniṣads.

Indigenous cults employed, and still make use of crude stones in order to evoke in them territorial divinities (grāma-devatā). The liṅga of Śiva is also employed to a similar effect, but on a different cultural level. The most sacred of these still consist of stones 'spontaneously born of the soil' and left in situ. They are natural rocks of a more or less phallic appearance. Out of these material supports issues, according to current belief, the face itself of the god. The Saiva Purāṇas complacently describe this miracle (liṅgodbhava), which is translated in iconography by the liṅga "with face" (mukha-liṅga) especially frequent in Indo-China. The face of Śiva is carved in front of it. Frequently also an ordinary liṅga is put into a sheath (kośa) of precious metal and this is decorated with a mask in relief, a striking materialisation of a god who surges temporarily facing the devotees.

There are also *liṅgas* and '*kośas*' with four or five faces—four is the rule, facing the four quarters—while the fifth face of Siva '*pañcānana*' is not directed towards this world. It faces the unknowable and is invisible.

A Sanskrit inscription of ancient Champa fortunately gives us first hand information about the meaning of this multiplication of divine faces. It refers to a precious sheath decorated with faces and offered by a sovereign of the country to a *liṅga* at Mi-Son, in 1163 A. D. This god, says the text, despite his benevolence could not give his benedictions to all the regions of space....[but] with his five royal faces (i. e. with the *kośa*) he has now five mouths¹. He will, in future, face the south as well as the west, and the north as well as the east, and on top of this the zenith, which is added in India to the cardinal points. This *liṅga* thus stands at the root of the four visible manifestations of the god, each of them epitomized in a "face" just as the one "trunk" (*ātman*) of *Brahmā* stands in the middle of the four cardinal "flashes" of the older god.

Siva does not cease being one. He only manifests himself in a series, by a kind of procession of his nature, facing all the orients where the circumambulation of his devotees will unfold itself.²

Let us pass on to Viṣṇu. It will suffice, no doubt, to evoke the apocalypse of chapter XI of the *Bhagavadgītā* with the substantial commentary of Śaṅkara. The subject is well known. Arjuna wishes to behold the sovereign form (*aīśvara rūpa*) of the god who replies to him : "See my divine shapes, varied and of all kinds by hundreds and thousands ; see the sons of Aditi and the Vasu's, Rudra's, Aśvin's and Marut's ; see, Bhārata, these numerous marvels which none as yet has seen" (verse 5-6). How is this, feigns to exclaim Śaṅkara. Does Viṣṇu want to deceive Arjuna ? The hero expects to see the supreme form of Viṣṇu and the god but shows him the ordinary pantheon, the whole of it, no doubt, but where is the supreme form of Viṣṇu ? The Vedāntin is not embarrassed : Viṣṇu is all these gods. God being all things, all things manifest God. All creatures, even the greatest divinities rest in him. They are aspects which have proceeded from him, faces which he shows us.

1. 'Le Symbolisme à Angkor Thom : le "Grand Miracle" du Bayon', C. R. de l'Ac. des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres 1936, p. 80.

2. L'Inde vue de l'Est, Cultes Indiens et Indigènes au Champa, Hanoi 1934, p. 40 sq.

The world in its totality, if it is not God, illustrates him. Sun and moon are His eyes, the cardinal regions His power of hearing. One recognizes the words even of the Puruṣasūkta : "Puruṣa evedaṃ sarvaṃ..... cakṣoḥ sūryo ajāyata.....diśaḥ śrotrāt.....".

Like this Vedic Puruṣa, like Prajāpati-Viśvakarman, like the fire altar (agni), like Agni himself, like Brahmā 'caturmukha' or Śiva 'pañcānana', the Viṣṇuite Puruṣa is "face everywhere" (viśvatomukha, Śaṅkara). At the very moment when we look at anything whatever, it is a face which the Lord turns towards us.

Better still : the counterpart of the reduction of the 1000 faces and 1000 arms of Prajāpati-Viśvakarman into the 4 of Brahmā, may be seen in verse 46, where Arjuna, incapable of supporting for a long time the formidable vision of the god in whom moves the world, implores him to resolve this terrible aspect of 1000 arms into a benign form, easy to comprehend, of four arms.....

Bhakti finds in these images a deep inspiration and to the philosopher it is a motive full of resources. Still, it is clear that thinkers and mystics have received the data from the ritualists. Mythology becomes subjected to their scheme. Still, the scheme in itself is not of mythological essence.

* * *

What is now to be said about Buddhism ?

Its adepts do not only honour the name of Brahmā as that of a great god full of wisdom and devotion towards Buddha : He has furnished them with several technical terms of capital importance. The voice of the Buddha is a voice of Brahmā (brahmasvara), the wheel of his Law a Wheel of Brahmā (brahmacakra). Four Sojourns or Dwellings of Brahmā, or four Sojourns in Brahmā form the summit of Buddhist meditation. In the light of the foregoing, their denomination assumes unexpected significance. In fact, it is prescribed to the ascetic that in mind he should turn and face successively the four cardinal points. Envisaging these four regions, first one by one and then all together, he endeavours to cover them continually with a fourfold thought of friendship, compassion, sympathy and equanimity (pāli : mettā, karuṇā, muditā, upekkhā).

This practice is visibly a transposition into moral values of the "tour of the horizon" of Brahmā which is summed up in his four faces. The

inexhaustible charity of the Buddhist will penetrate the entire space exactly as the inexhaustible authority of Brahmā in the other system, or else like the 'benediction' of Śiva or of Viṣṇu. It is noteworthy that the supreme end of these Buddhist exercises is the obtaining of a body of Brahmā (brahmakāya, dharmakāya), i. e. not of a birth in the quality of Brahmā, but of a total purification ('āśrayaprasāṅgi') under which the illusion of the world and its contaminations will be effaced as under a wide sheet of pure water.

From here Mahāyānism was gradually to draw the famous image of its Paradises the denizens of which float supported on lotus seats around a lotus-seated Buddha.

How could one not evoke in this connection, the lotus of Brahmā ?

The celestial flower on which Brahmā is seated corresponds to our 'Rose des Vents'; it is the lotus of space (ākāśa). It expresses the ascension of the god into the Absolute, above our inferior regions, where the four quarters of space are differentiated, each by one of the 'cardinal' petals of the lotus and where, between these directions "matter", i. e. the illusion is unfolded of an 'exterior world and a diversity of objects'.

With this lotus whose principal petals are turned towards the east, south, west and north, we always find the same fundamental theme : the attribution of Universality to Brahmā, i. e. of a power which dominates (successively and simultaneously) the four quarters. In their transposition into the moral sphere, the four 'brahmavihāra's' of Buddhism speak the same language.

So clear an analogy could not escape the representatives of Brahmanical orthodoxy. Varāhamihira expressly teaches in his *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* that the Buddha in his aspect of Father of the World is entitled, like Brahmā, to seat himself on the celestial lotus, compass and point of intersection of the 4 directions.

Scarcely installed on this supernatural seat, what moreover is the Buddha going to do ? A monograph of deserved fame by A. Foucher informs us about it : he is going to put forth multiples of himself

1. Barabudur. *Esquisse d'une histoire du Bouddhisme*, Hanoi 1936. p. 784-802 : re. the lotus of 'ākāśa', cf. especially the luminous study by Oommarawamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Harvard U. P., 1935, p. 17 f.

into all the points of space. This is the Great Miracle at Śrāvastī, reproduced according to the Mahāyānists, each time when a Buddha, a Bodhisattva, or even a simple Saint wants to manifest his transcendence, that is, technically, his communion with the universal Body of the Law, which also is a Body of Brahmā (dharmakāya, brahmakāya).

Buddhist art has found here an illustrious subject though it is not always easy of execution. It offers to the painters and sculptors of low reliefs the problem of reducing to the surface an object of three dimensions : Four Buddhas addorsed compose theoretically the central part of every Great Miracle. How then could the painter have represented the one of the Buddhas who turns his back on him and is covered by the one who confronts him ? By a simple play of perspective the fourfold unity resolves itself into a composition which wrongly might be taken for a trinity : A Buddha in front view and two in profile, one on each side. It is necessary to complete the image in mind by imagining the fourth figure at the back.

In other words, Buddhist art treats the Buddha of the Great Miracle exactly as Brahmanical art treats Brahmā 'caturmukha'. This fact is well established. Still, one ought to stop here for a while. As long as guided by mere appearance, it was thought that Brahmanical legend and iconography admitted an unnatural form of Brahmā with four heads, the similarity of Buddhist images, with three faces visible instead of the four, could not be seen to refer to anything beyond the material detail of execution. Who would have thought to establish a deeper relation between a god with four faces and four addorsed Buddhas ?

All is changed if the cyclical interpretation of the four faces of Brahmā which we proposed is accepted. We have not in front of us a god with four faces, but a god who shows himself four times. His four aspects are melted into one unique block of sculpture. It is about the same with regard to the Buddha. It is not the question of four Buddhas. There is only one Buddha, but he shows himself at the four orientes.

Nevertheless Brahmā has only one body for his four faces whereas to the quadruple "apparition" of Buddha the shape of four separate figures is given. In place of the one body with a cluster of heads, of the Brahmanical god, there is nothing between the four "aspects" of the Buddha. But then, if it is true that the four faces of Brahmā are four projections of

one 'ātman', denoted by the body, or better by the one trunk (ātman) which is given to the image, the similarity of this motif and of the Buddhistic Great Miracle assumes a far-reaching doctrinal value and the difference which has been stated will teach us as much as, or more than, the analogies.

In fact, the Buddha with the 'brahmakāya', like Brahmā, fills space in all the directions with the forms which he projects. Whereas however the Brahmanical forms lean on the 'ātman', that is to say on fundamental reality in their centre, Buddhism, on the contrary, categorically denies the existence of that 'ātman': and this is the main doctrinal reason why the forms of Buddha, in sharp contrast to those of Brahmā, are detached from one another. What better illustration could one imagine of the 'nairātmya' doctrine? The Buddha acts, teaches and saves. He emits multiples. He goes everywhere. But without 'ātman'.

The central conception of Brahmanism, to wit the synthesis of successive appearances (the faces) realised outside of time by an absolute support (the trunk = ātman), this central conception of Brahmanism is dissolved by Buddhism.

But for this, the Great Miracle of Śākyamuni is shown by the sculptors like that of Brahmā 'caturmukha' assembled in one unique image.

Brahmanism, we have seen, did not fail to seize the analogy. The same holds good for Buddhism. Indologists, no doubt, would have noticed it long ago and their interpretations would have gained by it, had they possessed a text with the coincidence of the two motives explicitly put down. The work however is lost in the original. Fortunately it subsists in a Chinese translation. This is the Avataṃsaka Sūtra, one of the most sacred books of the Mahāyānists, translated by Buddhahadra between 408 and 429 A. D.

Buddha there is said to be "like the great king Brahmā, who rests in his palace of the Brahmā world while everywhere, in the infinite thousands of worlds, the bodies of Brahmā manifest themselves. By the puissance alone of his complete sovereignty he makes arise these bodies without number, so that there is no place in the world where he does not manifest himself, and yet, he never divides his body" ¹

1. Tripiṭaka of Taisho, No. 278, Vol. IX, p. 618b.

Brahmā does not divide his body. His 'ātman' is one and all the while, nevertheless, he projects in every sense "aspects" which are all that is, and all that is, is he. Here we are led back to the dialectic of 'ātman'. How is it then that Buddhism has chosen to preserve so much of that dialectic while disconnecting it from its ontological basis?

A new preciseness has been gained. It is by his sovereignty (aiśvarya) that the great Brahmā of the Avatamsaka has the power of manifesting himself everywhere. The Bhagavadgītā similarly presents to us the cosmical body of Viṣṇu, as a sovereign body (aiśvara rūpa) of which the gods are the faces. Śiva, who with his quintuple face "blesses" the cardinal points is the "grand seigneur" (Maheśvara) par excellence, and is adorned with a liturgy of names, all ending in 'īśvara' (Chinese: tseu tsai). The Mahāyānist formula finally, which introduces the Great Miracle, is: he bounds into space and by his 18 transformations he manifests sovereignty (tseu tsai, aiśvarya).

The concord between Buddhism, strict Brahmanical orthodoxy and the two great sectarian religions will be less surprising if it is observed that it has its reference to the royal traditions of India. The definition of sovereignty in the Codes as well as in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, is the power itself of manifesting it "instantaneously" in all the quarters of the territory over which it extends. This is the meaning of Manu, V, 96, VII, 4-7, when he gives the King as the simultaneous incarnation of the Eight Guardians of the World, regents of the 4 quarters and the collateral points. Under various names, Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu and even the Buddha (especially in the Great, but also already in the Small Vehicle) have in turn conformed with this model. They are Īśvara's. This word has a definite meaning in India. The privilege to face, like the sun, at the same time all those who contemplate it—the image is in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad II, 9. 1; cf: Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad VI, 3, 6,—constitutes an essential element.

This leads us towards a last Īśvara. Mahāyānism has no god more popular than the great Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Chinese: koan tseu tsai, "The Lord who looks" vulgo 'koan yin'). A famous chapter of the Saddharmapundarīka Sūtra, this bible of the Mahāyānists, confers on him the name of Samantamukha, "face everywhere", an exact pendant of

Viṣvatomukha, "face to all" applied to the 'aiśvara rūpa' of Viṣṇu by the comentator of the Gītā.

The concord is intimate and not only verbal.

Viṣṇu 'viṣvatomukha' owes this title to the omnipresence of his 'ātman' whose manifestation reaches into the person of the other gods. As many gods, as many are the faces which he shows us. Their feet carry him towards us and it is his hand which they hold out to us : sectarian application of a pantheism issuing from the notion, at first purely ritual, then philosophical, of 'brahman—ātman'.

That this notion is familiar to the 'Lotus of the Good Law' is evident by the terminology used in the famous Sūtra in order to describe the great miracle of the multiplication of bodies. The Buddha is one. Nevertheless he has numberless bodies, for all the Buddhas are himself, those as well of infinite space as of the most remote ages. Despite its transposition into Buddhistic values, the omnipresence of the 'ātman', personified elsewhere by Brahmā-Prajāpati, is so obvious that with reference to Śākyamuni, the innumerable Buddhas identified with him are spoken of as "mobile forms issued from his ātman" (ātmabhāva-nirmitās Tathāgatavigrahāḥ). This mode of expression properly looked at, does not shake the fundamental doctrine of 'nairātmya'. It gives an image and nothing more. The shapes having no reality of their own, can confer none to the illusory "ātmabhāva" from which they seem to emanate. Yet the mere wording of the text shows how far the formal concordance can be pushed between the Buddhistic Great Miracle and the Brahmanical Great Miracle.

Chapter XXV of the 'Lotus', consecrated to Avalokiteśvara 'samantamukha' (it is a small Sūtra interpolated into the large one) transfers this multiform power to the Bodhisattva of the Pure Earth. It is still more explicit, if possible, and nearer the theme of Viṣṇu 'viṣvatomukha.' Buddha, gods, genii, Nāga, father, guru,—Avalokiteśvara, one by one or simultaneously assumes all these aspects.

Truly however these forms, like those of the Hindu god and of the Brahmanical Viśvakarman, in a narrow sense, are not his own. They are those of the others. But the others are he. So, every face that looks at us is his.

This explains one of the most magnificent and incontestably the

most mysterious of temples of which Indian genius, penetrating the Far East, has provoked an efflorescence from the South Sea to the borders of China (which itself owes so much to Buddhism).

Dedicated to Avalokiteśvara (Lokeśvara, Lord of the World as one preferred to say in Cambodia) the Bayon of Añkor Thom, famous by its fifty towers, each carved on its four sides into four gigantic faces, harboured under these towers, in chapels, the images of all the local or provincial gods of the kingdom. The excellent work of M. Coedès leaves no room for doubt on this point. Whether Buddhas, Bodhisattvas or Brahmanical gods, the lords of the Cambodian towns and provinces were grouped in the complicated mass of the great royal temple.

What does this internal arrangement signify ?

This will become apparent if we oppose—while completing the one by the other,—the interior and exterior aspects of the monuments. Alone visible outside, above the chapels, the face of Bodhisattva Lokeśvara (identified with the Khmer Īśvara, Jayavarman VII) reigns over the throng of towers. Dominating above all the particular divinities dissimulated beneath it, this one, while yet multiplied countenance, faces all the quarters.

Every cult has two aspects ; in its immediate aspect it allows for the worship of a local god by the one or the other particular group of devotees, and this takes place in the interior chapels ; but, at the same time, these particular cults have a transcendent aspect, which is the same for all ; as the 'Lotus of the Good Law' explains, it is always to Avalokiteśvara that one addresses oneself. Here, on the exterior, is the secret truth, which an architecture, phantastic only at the first glance, translates in clear light. The builder left nothing to chance. He knew exactly what he wanted to say. In the immense bosom of Avalokiteśvara, as in the bosom of Viṣṇu 'viśvatomukha,' all the gods of the world are lodged. For this bosom is the world. On these ancient Cambodian stones, far from India, a Sanskrit word is to be read, a single one : 'samantamukha.' The faces in stone which had remained undeciphered for such a long time, form, so to say, these five 'akṣaras'.

Such is the Bayon, the last link but not the least brilliant, of a long series of forms. It is now easier for us to seize the logical concord with the altogether conventional, and by no means monstrous, images of god Brahmā 'with four faces'.

Truzel.

SIVA OF PRE-HISTORIC INDIA

By D. R. BHANDARKAR

In December 1906 I first visited Mount Ābū in Rājputānā. I there saw and examined not only the celebrated Jaina temples of Dilvādā but also the various sites round about it such as Acaleśvara, Vasiṣṭha, Karoḍi Dhaj, Devāṅgaṇa and Devkhetar. At Devāṅgaṇa I lighted upon a colossal bust of Trimūrti, not however of Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu blended into one, but of a form of Śiva. In one of the Volumes of his classical work 'Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation' (I. 53, n. 3) Sir John Marshall refers to this image, and remarks: "Professor Bhandarkar specifically says that this is an image of Siva, not of the Triad, but he does not make his reasons clear." The description of the image I have given is as follows: "It consists of three busts, each with two hands; the central one holds a rosary of beads and a citron, that on the proper right has only one hand left and this bears a bowl, and the third has in the right hand a torch and left a doubtful object. All the busts have their breasts adorned with necklaces, and in the case of the central one, we have a serpent entwining his breast below the necklace and a third eye prominently in the forehead" (PRAS. WC., 1906-07, p. 30). It will be seen from this description that none of the hands of any one of these busts here holds any objects such as the 'pothi' or Ms. of Ṛgveda which is peculiar to Brahmā, or lotus and discus which characterise Viṣṇu. These are always noticeable in the image of real Trimūrti.

As regards the seals, terra-cotta figurines, and so forth¹, the remarks

1. The ideas embodied in this note in this connection occurred to me five or six years ago while I was reading the volumes of 'Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation'. I wanted to develop them further into well-formulated views, but want of leisure prevented my doing so. And I do not think I shall now find time for this work. In these circumstances I am compelled to give expression to these ideas here for what they are worth, hoping that some scholar will be able to do what I have been unable to carry out.

of Sir John Marshall are thoughtful and are generally worthy of acceptance. The god shown on the seal illustrated in plate XII. 17, is doubtless a prototype of the historic Śiva, because he is three-faced, seated in an attitude of yoga and with 'ūrdhva-meḍhra' clearly exposed. Crowning his head is a pair of horns meeting in a tall head-dress. This looks like 'uṣṇīṣa.' To either side of the god are four animals, an elephant, tiger, rhinoceros and buffalo. This shows that the god is Rudra as Paśupati. But his main characteristic is that he is three-faced. Śiva or rather Rudra is nowhere called 'trimukha'. He is rather styled 'try-ambaka' which, though in post-Vedic literature, it means 'the three-eyed one', signifies in Vedic times 'he who has three mothers.' And in that sense the epithet is applied to Rudra in the Vājasaneyi Samhitā (3. 58) and Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (2. 6. 2, 9), and refers to him once even in the R̥gveda (VII. 59, 12). This shows that the divinity figuring in the Mohenjo-daro seal is three gods rolled into one, with three different mothers. One Vedic word meaning 'a mother' is 'ambā' or 'ambikā.' In R̥gveda II. 41. 16 Sarasvatī not only has been addressed as Ambā, but also called Ambitamā, 'the best of mothers.' The cult of the Mother-Goddess thus seems to have been known in the R̥gveda period. But it further appears that it was somehow associated with Rudra. Thus in the post-Vedic period Ambikā is mentioned as a wife of Śiva. But in the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā she has been called, not Rudra's wife, but Rudra's sister. Anyhow Ambā has been closely associated with Rudra or Śiva, whether in the Vedic or the post-Vedic period. It thus seems that the Ambā cult was originally in India somehow connected with this god. This also explains why the Sapta-mātaraḥ or Seven Mothers are in mediaeval times associated with Śiva. It is quite possible that originally, not seven, but three, Ambās were connected with Rudra. It may be possible to distinguish between these three Ambās from among the figurines of Mother-Goddess found in the north-west of India. Some of them bear placid and some grotesque faces. Some again are with children in their arms. Be that as it may, it is not impossible altogether to detect three types of Ambā from among the heaps of female figurines exhumed at Mohenjo-daro so as to account for Rudra for being called Tryambaka and consequently to account for the three-faced divinity figuring on the seal of Mohenjo-daro. It is possible also to detect a fourth type, namely, that of standing and almost nude female, elaborately

dressed, profusely ornamented, or both. They are apparently figures of the dancing girl. One such bronze statuette has been actually so recognised (PL. XCIV. 6-8).

Identifications of such seals and figurines are more or less of a vague character unless we are able to connect them with some sect or religious system. Was there any such connected with Rudra of ancient times? I may in this connection draw attention to the hymn which forms Book XV of the Arthava-veda and is devoted to the glorification of the Vrātya. If one carefully studies this hymn, he will be convinced that Vrātya was the name of a band of wandering religious mendicants and that their chief god was named Eka-vrātya. The various manifestations of this god were Mahādeva, Īsāna, Bhava, Śarva, Rudra and so forth, all forms of the post-Vedic Śiva. We may therefore indulge in the inference that the original Śiva sect was known as Vrātya. It had various characteristic features. Thus Eka-Vrātya is represented to have taken to himself a bow that was Indra's bow, to have been fond of strong drink 'surā', to wear 'uṣṇīṣa' and to be accompanied by harlot 'pumścalī' and by Māgadha² whatever that may mean. That Śiva of the post-Vedic period was noted for a formidable bow, was fond of 'surā' and wore 'uṣṇīṣa' is too well-known to require any comment here. Pumścalī obviously corresponds to the Devadāsīs of the modern day and is no doubt represented by the figurines of dancers found at Mohenjo-daro. What Māgadha exactly means it is very difficult to say. It has been generally translated by 'a panegyrist, a bard.' Possibly this may be correct. It appears tempting also to connect this Māgadha with Magadha, North Bihar, and say that the Māgadha who was an associate of Eka-Vrātya originally came from this country. But we must bear in mind also the fact that there were Māgadha Kṣatriyas in Śākadvīpa. Scythia and Sog-di-ana are taken to be corruptions of Śāka-dvīpa which is therefore identified with Tartary including Turkestan in Central Asia (J. A. S. B., Vol. LXXI. p. 154). Similarly, the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa also speaks of the sun worship having come to India from Śākadvīpa and associates Māgadha Brahmans with that worship (Brahma-parvan, Chap. 117. v. 55). It is

2. It is curious that Māgadha and Pumścalī have been mentioned together also in the Śukla-Yajurveda-Saṃhitā, XXX. 22.

possible that the Māgadha who is connected with Eka-vrātya was a priest of the Māgadha tribe emigrated from Śākadvīpa³. If this line of reasoning is at all worthy of any consideration, it seems that the Vrātya cult, which afterwards developed into Śivism, originally came to the Indus Valley with the immigration of the Māgadhas from outside India. This explains why Vrātya denoted a fellowship that stood without the Brahmanic pale. This is the reason why the Vrātya denotes the offscourings of society. But the essence of the Vrātya cult, imported by Māgadhas from outside India, was later absorbed into Brahmanism and developed into Śivism.

3. If there were two Rājagṛhas, one in Bihar and the other in the Panjab, capital of Kekaya (Rāmāyaṇa II. 70.1), it need not surprise us if there were two Māgadha countries also.



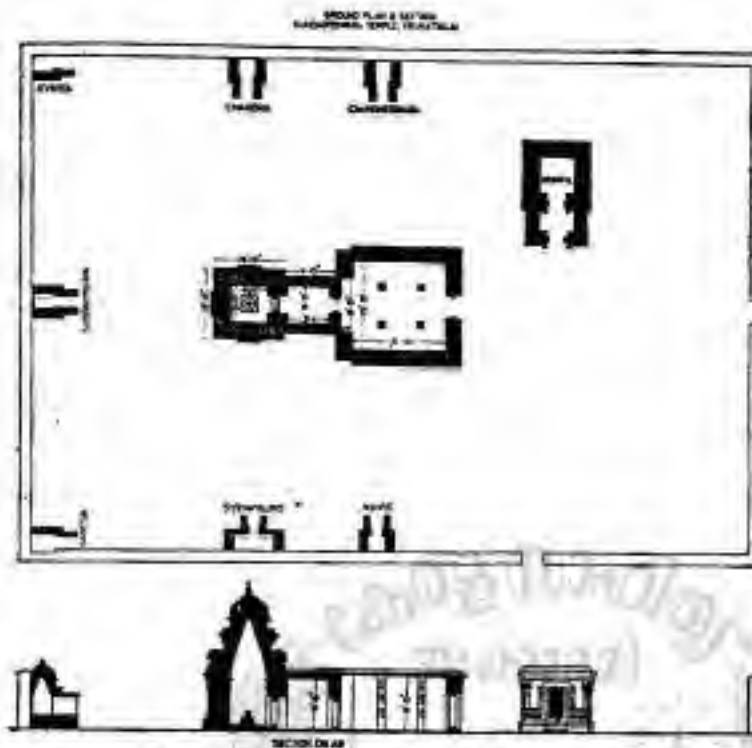
COLA TEMPLES IN PUDUKKOTTAI

By VENKATARANGA RAJU

It is generally believed that the construction of temples completely in stone, ceased in southern India with the first half of the ninth century and that from the beginning of the second half their upper portions were built in brick¹. But in Pudukkottai State and in many parts of the country around it as far as South Arcot, lithic temples seem to have continued to be built after that period till the tenth century. Mūvarkovil (Pl. VIII) and Mucukundeśvara temple are two such temples in Koḍumbālūr in Koḷattūr taluk, 26 miles away from the town of Pudukkottai. Sundareśvara temple is another Śiva temple in Tirukkattalai (Fig. on p. 79), a small village nearly four miles to the east of the town of Pudukkottai. Other lithic temples of similar type are the Vijayālaya Coḷīśvara temple on Melamalai (Pl. X), the Kaḍambar temple on Kaḍambarmalai in Nārttāmalai and the Balasubrahmanya temple in Kaṇṇanūr in Tirumayam taluk. In Tiruppūr, Viśālūr, Pananguḍi and Kāliyāpaṭṭi in Koḷattūr taluk, and in Enādi in Tirumayam taluk (Pl. XI) there are also similar structures but smaller in size.

From the inscriptions found on the preserved portions of the central Vimānam in Mūvarkovil in Koḍumbālūr (cf. Pl. VIII) it is learnt that three Vimānas (vimāna trayam) were built by Bhūti Vikramakesari, an Irukkuvel chieftain, for his own benefit and that of his two wives, Kaṇṇāli and Varaguna. It may be ascribed to the tenth century A. D. In an inscription of the twelfth year of Māra Varman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (282 of the Pudukkottai State list) found on the southern face of the rock on the north eastern side of Śamaṇar Koḍagu on Melamalai in Nārttāmalai, mention is made of Vijayālaya Coḷīśvara temple. This is the Vijayālaya Coḷīśvara temple on Melamalai (Pl. X) and hence the temple can be considered to have been constructed in the middle of the 9th century A. D. As regards the Sundareś-

1. Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle, 1918-1919, p. 28.



vara temple at Tirukattalai, two of the Coḷa inscriptions on its walls refer to Parakesari who is no other than Parāntaka I for reasons already stated in my publication in the *Journal of Oriental Research*². The temple has to be assigned to the second half of the ninth century. The earliest inscription found in the Mucukundeśvara temple is on a pillar of the Maṇḍapa in front of the central

shrine (No. 33 of the list of Pudukkoṭṭai Inscriptions). Kovirājakesari is referred to in it. He can be no other than Āditya I. As the temple is similar to the Sundareśvara temple in architectural style and ornamentation, it may be considered to have been built in the middle of the ninth century. Of the other lithic temples within the State, the Balasubrahmanya temple in Kaṇṇanūr and the Kaḍambar temple on Kaḍambarmalai in Nārttāmalai are similar in style but the Balasubrahmanya temple appears to be earlier. The earliest inscription found on the Kaḍambar temple is dated in the 22nd year of Rāja Rāja I (No. 86 in the Pudukkoṭṭai List of Inscriptions). The temple must have been in existence in 1007 A. D., how long before that date it is not possible to say. In any case the architectural features of these two temples do not go against our assigning these two temples to the latter part of the tenth century A. D. Of the remaining shrines, the Śiva temples in Tiruppūr, Viśālūr, Panaṅguḍi and Kāliyāpatti in Kolattūr taluk and in Enādi in Tirumayam taluk (Pl. XI) are all very small

² Vol. X, pp. 331-33.

and very much alike in details of architectural style, and particularly with regard to their sculptures and ornamentation ; they have to be considered to be contemporaneous. In the Kāliyāpaṭṭi Śiva temple there is a much mutilated unpublished inscription on the north wall and on the basement of the shrine. It refers to the 18th year of a certain Parakesari. The figure 8 in 18 (line 2 in part A of the inscription) is one generally found in early Tamil inscriptions. The vowel letters a, ā, i and the conjunct consonants ti and yi in part B are sufficiently archaic to be placed in the 9th and early 10th centuries A.D. All these temples have been constructed within a period ranging from the ninth to the tenth century.

In general outward shape these buildings closely resemble the Pallava monoliths at Māmallapuram (seven Pagodas) and many of the characteristic features of the Pallava style are reproduced in them. But the Coḷas with their love for ornamentation decorated them with a simple and effective elegance. The best examples are the Vimānas of Mūvarkovil in Koḍumbāḷūr, a small village in Virāḷimalai Firkā of the Koḷattūr taluk in the State (Pl. VIII). It is a famous place in south India. In the Śilappadikāram, the earliest Tamil epic of the golden age of Tamil literature it is mentioned as situated on the high road from the Coḷa capital of Kaveripatnam to the Pāṇḍyan capital of Madura. It was the capital of the Veḷḷir chiefs who flourished on the frontiers of the Coḷa and Pāṇḍyan kingdoms. From the various records collected till now, they and their followers figure largely as powerful subordinates and lieutenants of the Coḷa sovereigns. But from two inscriptions copied at Tiruvottiyūr in the Chingleput District and Tiruvallarai in the Trichinopoly District it is inferred that there was a temporary break in their long allegiance to the Coḷa throne during the ninth century. The circumstances that led to this temporary change of allegiance, may be attributed to a defeat of the Koḍumbāḷūr chief at the hands of the Pallavas or of their subordinates at a time when their suzerains, the Coḷas, were comparatively powerless. During this period, Muttarayars were in possession of part of the fertile delta land in the Tanjore District with Sendalai or Niyamam as their head quarters. They were powerful subordinates of the Pallavas and the Veḷḷir chiefs must have come under their sway. Perumbiḍugu Muttarayan II alias Suvaran Māran was an ally of the Pallavas against the Pāṇḍyans and fought some battles on behalf of the Pallavas. As the Veḷḷir chief did not



join him, he in his fury caused the destruction of this beautiful city. Nothing remains now of the past glory of Koḍumbālūr except the Mūvarkovil and Mucukundeśvara temples³.

Originally there were three shrines side by side at the Mūvarkovil temple. Only two are now intact (Pl. VIII) and only the basement of the third remains. Each was composed of a central shrine (*garbhagrha*) and a closed ante-chamber (*ardhamandapa*) attached to its front. The three shrines stood side by side in a line and were surrounded by seven sub-shrines and a boundary wall (*prakāra*) enclosing the whole. Two of the central shrines (Pl. VIII) are preserved and of all other structures only their basements remain. Each of these two shrines is 32 feet high from the ground level and 18 feet square on the ground; they stand 13 feet apart one from the other, all facing west. They are built completely from basement to finial, of well dressed gneiss blocks neatly and accurately fitted. Their walls are 5 feet in thickness. When viewed from inside the shrine chamber, the roof is seen to be composed of a number of courses of cut stones projecting one above the other. The opening on top is closed by a single roof slab. Above the moulding of the basements of these *Vimānas*, the lower being a *Padmapīṭha*, runs a course of *Yālis* with flowing manes. At each of the corners a *Makara* head juts out with its snout coiled up and with a *Gandharva*. The walls are decorated with a series of pilasters crowned with *Kumbha*, *Padma* and *Palagai* successively. The under-side of the bracket-capitals is decorated with horizontal rows of roll ornament with a slightly raised band in the middle. But these rolls are not uniform as in *Pallava* structures. One of them in each corbel curves inwardly. In addition to this, the walls on the exterior side are provided with niches in the middle and an image in each.

Over the niches are carved in low relief double arched *Toraṇas* springing from the mouths of a pair of *Makaras*, as in the case of *Pallava* structures. Above the walls runs a cornice which is, as in *Pallava* structures, thick and single arched and ornamented at close intervals along its whole length with *Kūḍu's* crowned with trifoliated finials instead of the

3. Owing to long centuries of indifference and neglect these structures were in a more or less ruined condition. One of the structures was badly out of plumb. They were recently repaired and conserved.

spade shaped finials, found in Pallava structures. In addition to this, the cornice in all its corners and the Kūḍu's in it, are carved with scroll work and its lower edge is also carved throughout its length with a series of small semi-circles simulating lotus petals. A Vyālavari runs above the cornice with heads of Makaras jutting out at the corners and a frieze of Bhūtagaṇas runs immediately below the cornice. All these features occur invariably in structures of this type.

Each of the two intact shrines is crowned by a Vimāna rising in three tiers, between each pair of which is a thick and single arched cornice which is similar to the lowermost cornice in all its minor details. In the story just above it, a small structure is placed in each of the four corners with a four-sided curvilinear roof and a small four-sided finial above it. In the middle of each side is the model of a building with a waggon-shaped roof which reaches the second cornice. As in Pallava structures, the walls of one shrine are adorned here with two four-cornered pilasters and a thick round pilaster between them to either side of the 'model' waggon-shaped roof. As regards the topmost parts of the Vimānas, each has a four-sided curvilinear roof which is ornamented on its four sides with projecting Kūḍu's filled with sculptured shrines in miniature in the middle and crowned by Simhalalāṭas. Its corners are carved with elaborate scroll work as in Pallava structures and the whole length of its lower edge has incised a series of semi-circles simulating lotus petals. The neck (grīva) below the 'roof' is also four-sided with a niche projecting in the middle of each side. A row of Bhūtagaṇas runs round its edge close below the roof. The roof portion terminates with two rectangular slabs one above the other, the lower one called Ratnapīṭha and the upper one Kamalapīṭha; the latter is drawn out into petals. On the top a finial fits into a close fitting socket in the centre of the Kamalapīṭha.

Of the images in the cell-like structures placed in the different stories of the spire a number is still in situ while others have been recovered during excavation. One image, of Kālārimūrti is shown in Pl. IX, Fig. 1. It is 4' 6" high and represents Śiva in the act of chastising the god Yama for attempting to take away the life of Mārkaṇḍeya, his staunch devotee, in his sixteenth year. The figure of the god is fierce-looking. Yama is represented grovelling on the ground with his face upturned towards Śiva. Śiva's left leg is placed on Yama while the right one is raised. He has four



arms, the upper right hand holding a paraśu (axe) while the lower one is raised and holds a pāśa (noose.) The upper left hand holds a deer, while the lower one points towards Yama (sūcihasta pose).

In each of the corners of the topmost story a bull is placed facing outwards. This is evidently to show that the temple is dedicated to Śiva.

Inside these shrines highly polished cylindrical liṅgas with their pedestals appear to have been placed. They are missing now and their fragments are found scattered about the place.

As already stated, a closed Ardhamandapa seems to have been attached to each shrine in front. Only the basements remain and on either side of their entrance a Dvārapālaka seems to have stood. All the shrines were originally covered with plaster and decorated with stucco.

Of the other structural temples, the Sundarēśvara temple in Tirukkattalai is the only temple in Pudukkoṭṭai which has all the characteristic features of the architectural style of the early Coḷa period in its pristine glory, unimpaired (ground plan and elevation on p. 79). The temple faces east. The central Vimāna, the closed Ardhamandapa attached to it in front, the seven sub-shrines of Parivāra-devas and the boundary wall round them seem to be the only structures that were originally constructed.

All the other structures, the Mukhamandapa attached to the Ardhamandapa and the shrines for the goddess standing to the north of the central Vimāna appear to have been subsequently added. The central Vimāna is 12 feet square with thick massive walls measuring 5 feet in thickness. On each face of the 'ākhara' a 'kōḍu' is projecting in the middle with a 'triṃhalaṣṭa' for its top. It is elaborately carved. There are no miniature shrines carved in the middle of the sides, as in the Mūṭavarkovil at Koḍumbāḷūr.

The Ardhamandapa connects the Garbhagṛha and the Mukhamandapa in front of it. Two standing Dvārapālakas⁴ are found on either side of the outer entrance of the Ardhamandapa.

All round the main shrine and close to the walls of the enclosure are the sub-shrines of Sūrya, Saptamātṛkas, Gaṇeśa, Subrahmaṇya, Jyeṣṭhā, Candra and Caṇḍikeśvara. Among these deities the figure of Sūrya is peculiar. Of its two arms the left hand rests on the hip and the right in 'abhaya' pose. The usual lotus bud is not shown in the hands as in other Sūrya images.

Mucukundeśvara temple in Koḍumbāḷūr is another temple of similar style, built completely of well dressed and close fitting gneiss blocks. Originally it seems to have been composed only of a 'garbhagṛha' and an 'ardhamandapa' attached to it in front. The closed 'mahāmāṇḍapa,' an

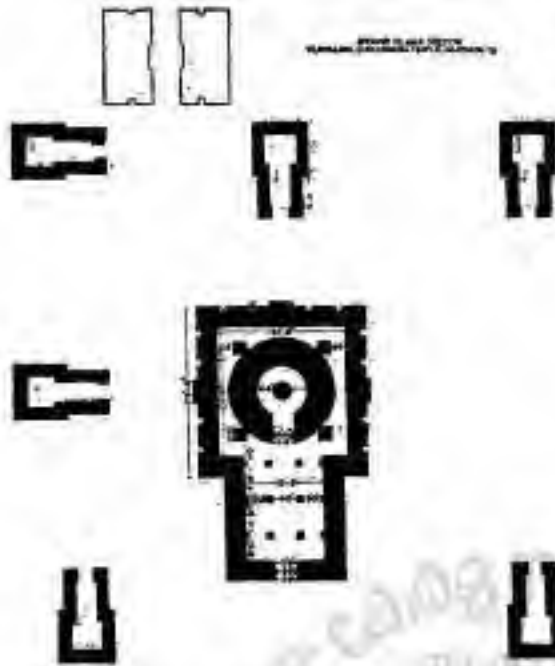
4. Both of them are standing figures with two arms and they face east. Both have Jaṭāmakuta, and Yaṇḍopavīta in the form of rolled cloth and wear large Paṭrakandals in their ears. The right hand of the figure on the southern side has the Terjanī pose and its left hand rests on the hip. The face of the northern figure is slightly mutilated. Its trunk is turned towards the entrance. Its right hand rests on the hip; the left one in Vismaya pose. The two figures measure 5' 6" in height each exclusive of the basement.

open pillared 'maṇḍapa' and Amman koil standing in front of them have been added at a later period. Of these additional structures the open pillared 'maṇḍapa' appears to have been constructed in a haphazard way by selecting the materials required for it from the débris of some old ruined temples in the village⁵. The whole shrine is enclosed by a boundary wall (prakāra) within which four small sub-shrines are seen standing close to the boundary wall and facing the main shrines, one in each of the two corners in the eastern side, one in the north-western corner and the fourth on the rear side of the main shrine.

Images are placed only in two of them, Subrahmaṇya in the sub-shrine on the rear side, and Bhairava in the sub-shrine in the north-eastern corner of the main shrine. No images are found in the two other sub-shrines nor is there any gopuram standing above any of the four sub-shrines. Originally there should have been seven sub-shrines surrounding the temple, each having a small 'garbhagṛha', a closed 'ardha-maṇḍapa' attached to it in front and a gopuram above it composed of a 'grīva', curvilinear 'śikhara' and 'kalāśa' all four-cornered, similar to those of the main shrine, as in the case of all other structural temples of the Coḷa period of the 9th and 10th centuries, e.g. Sundarēśvara temple at Tirukkattalai, Vijayālaya Coḷēśvara temple on Melamalai at Nārttāmālai, etc. An image should have been placed in each of them as in the case of the temples noted above. One of these images is Jyēsthā Devī and this is placed in the open Maṇḍapa in front of the shrine. Many other images not connected with the shrine are placed in the Maṇḍapa of which a prismatic liṅga with sixteen faces similar to the liṅgas of the Pallava king Rājasthapa's time is prominent. As in the case of all other temples of the early Coḷa period, i. e. of the 9th and 10th centuries, the whole shrine appears to have been originally covered with plaster and stucco for traces are still seen on the walls of the main shrine.

Of the other temples in the State resembling Pallava architecture in outward appearance, one is to be found in Nārttāmālai. It lies 11½ miles to the north-west of Pudukkottai in Kolattūr taluk. This village appears to have been once a very flourishing town (nagara) in the sub-division of Annavāsal Kūṇṇam in Konāḍu under the Coḷa rulers and its original name was Nagarattār Malai, owing to the residence of Nagarattārs in it. In all old inscriptions it was known as Teluṅgakulakālapuram till the end of the twelfth century. From about the beginning of the thirteenth century, when it was under the sway of Kulottuṅga III, the village was re-named

5. In inscription No. 144 of the Pudukkottai List, the temple is stated to have been renovated and the idols of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and two Dvārapālakas are stated to have been installed evidently in the niches of the main walls of the central shrine and in those on either side of the entrance of the Ardhamaṇḍapa, in the 52d regnal year of Kulottuṅga III, i. e. about 1163-84 A. D. The temple was built long before Kulottuṅga III and all the idols mentioned above should have been placed in the several niches at the time of the construction of the edifice but are lost through neglect. Hence new ones were installed at the time of the renewal of the structure. None of these images is found in its place now but the Dakṣiṇāmūrti now found in a corner of the open Maṇḍapa might probably be one of the images referred to in the inscription.



Kulottuṅga Coḷa paṭṭinam. But the original name seems to have been fancifully rendered as Nārttāmalai subsequently and this fancifulness is perpetuated by mistaking the image playing on the Viṇā found



in many parts of the village for the sage Nārada's image. Many stories are woven round it to

show that the village was founded by Nārada.

Many monumental remains are found on the tops of the hills surrounding the village. All of them are now in a more or less ruined condition. One of these monuments is on Melamalai, one of the eight low hills surrounding the village. It is a ruined Śiva temple (Pl. X; Fig. on p. 85) perching on the eastern slope on the top of the hill surrounded on the north, south and east sides by seven small attendant shrines now in ruins. Originally all these shrines seem to have stood within a walled enclosure now completely destroyed. The main shrine facing the west is built entirely of well dressed gneiss blocks neatly and accurately fitted and covers an area of 1240 square feet. The 'garbhagṛha' is circular in the interior measuring 8'-6" in diameter and 8' in height. The wall running round it is 5' thick in its circular portion. Outwardly it is drawn into a square in the four corners and is placed within a square Maṇḍapa measuring 29' from side to side outwardly. Round the shrine chamber runs a circumambulatory passage (prakāra).

A Mukhamāṇḍapa in the form of a closed hall is attached to the main Maṇḍapa and has a moulded basement. Its walls are decorated with pilasters at intervals with bracket capitals the underside of which is plain and angular. The roof of the Maṇḍapa is flat, composed of flat slabs drawn out

into a single arched massive cornice which is decorated with Kūṭus at close intervals throughout its length. Inside the Kūṭus are carved human heads or animal figures and on their top is a trifoliated finial. Re. the other features, Bhūtagaṇas, etc.; cf. also p. 82. A sort of parapet wall runs on the edge of the whole roof just behind the Vyāghraśrī relieved by a series of rectangular cells with roofs, throughout its length. In all the corners the cells are cubical and the roofs are four-sided and curvilinear, while in the middle they are longer and their roofs are waggon-shaped and their front faces are adorned with figure niches in which dancing female figures are placed each in one of the poses of Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra.

The spire above the central circular shrine is unique in style. It consists of a circular tower rising just above the roof of the central circular shrine. The whole structure is hollow and completely shut out from the lower shrine. It has four stories and each story is separated from the next by a heavy single arched cornice which is similar in all minor details to the one on the main walls of the outer Maṇḍapa. The topmost cornice is circular and the Śikhara rises above the Grīva. It is dome-shaped and adorned with Kūṭu's on its four sides and with similar but smaller ones between them. The circular Grīva is provided with projecting niches in which images are placed.

Four bulls are fixed on four sides of each story. The walls of the first two stories of the Vimāna over the central shrine with their cornices projecting above them are circular in the middle and drawn out into squares in the corners to correspond with those of the main shrine. In the third story the wall is circular and adorned with cornered pillars with the usual component parts above them, 'tadī, kumbha, padma, palaga' and bracketed capital and thick round pilasters between them as in the southern Vimāna of the Mūrvakovi in Koṭumbāśrī. In the story immediately below it, there are in the four corners cubical cells with figure niches in their front faces, and in the circular wall between them are found two quadrangular cells standing side by side in the middle with waggon-shaped roofs and with figure niches in their front faces.

The closed hall in front of the main Maṇḍapa is supported by six monolithic pillars, cubical at the base, octagonal in the middle and crowned with bracketed capitals, the underside of which is bevelled and decorated with roll ornament with a slightly raised median band as in structures of the later Pallava period. The pillars are in two rows of three each. The main gateway is carved with a simple floral design. On either side of the gateway is a door-keeper or Devapālaka⁶.

Round the shrine there are six small temples, all built of cut stones. Each of them consists of a small shrine-chamber with a circular bell-shaped tower crowned with a circular stone finial; an enclosed Maṇḍapa stands in front. Originally they appear to have been seven in all. One of them seems to have been completely razed to the ground and the remaining six are now

6. They are five feet each in height. They stand with their legs crossed. They have only two arms each, one resting on a thick club and the other held in 'vismaya' pose. Each is crowned with 'jaṭāmukuta' and loose hair radiates on either side. Their heads are also surrounded by a halo (prabhāvalī) and two horns like the limbs of a crescent project on either side. They wear big circular earrings in their long ears and are adorned with the usual 'kaṭibandha, udarabandha', for the body, 'valayas' on the wrists, bracelets on the upper arms and bejewelled necklace on the neck. The 'yajñopavīta' or sacred thread is worn by them in the form of a rolled cloth and runs round the left shoulder across the chest, rests on the right hip and is ornamented with a series of bells.



in a ruined condition. No image is found in any of them now. The cylindrical *līṅga* and its 'yonī pīṭha' found in the main temple are broken.

There is a rock-cut Viṣṇu shrine in front of this temple. On its north eastern sides is a rock inscription in which the presiding deity of this beautiful temple is referred to as Vijayālaya Coḷīśvara-mudaiyār. It was therefore decided to name this temple Vijayālaya Coḷīśvaram.

In the front basement stone of this shrine, on the plinth below the Dvārapālaka on the left side of the entrance there is an unpublished old Tamil inscription recording that the original shrine was struck by lightning, that repairs were conducted to it by one Mallan Viḍaman alias Tennavan Tamiḷaḍi-araiyan and that the temple was originally constructed by Śempūdi alias Ilaṅgoḍiaraiya. From these inscriptions it was inferred that the temple was originally built by a local chieftain in the early part of the 9th century when the village was under the Coḷas and that it was renovated by another local chieftain. As in all other structural temples of the ninth and tenth centuries, the temple was covered with plaster and finished in stucco. Their traces are still seen in many places. The walls inside the Ardhamandapa were covered with mural paintings. As the edifice was left in a completely neglected condition and the whole of its ceiling was allowed to leak badly for a long time, most of these paintings have disappeared now and in places where they are visible, they are faint and indistinct.⁷

7. The painting on a portion of the northern side wall of the Ardhamandapa though not clearly visible can however be traced. It covers an area of 8' x 5' and represents Śiva Bhairava. The figure is drawn in a standing posture with a wide mouthed dog standing behind it. It is enclosed within two arms of an arc with their ends converging at the top and the bottom and their sides decorated with a series of flames throughout their length. It has eight arms holding a *ḍamaru*, a hooded serpent, a long pointed lance-like arrow and some weapon not clearly visible, probably *Khaṭvāṅga* in its four right hands; a dagger, a shield, a long bow and a spouted vessel in its four left hands. It has three rounded eyes and puts on a fierce aspect. It wears a mailed corset-like covering for the chest. A *Yajñopavīta* (sacred thread) passes over its left shoulder right across the chest and falls on its right hip. It wears a number of necklaces and garlands of which a long string of human skulls is prominent. It has a waist band from which four bells are suspended and two serpents are also entwined round the loins with their hoods spreading out. It has a 'jaṭāmakuṭa' on its head adorned with a number of ornaments. A number of bracelets are placed on all its wrists and upper arms. In its ears it wears 'kuṇḍalas' (ear rings) and other ornaments usually found in similar figures painted from the 12th century. It is painted in dark bluish green. Two figures, probably *Gaṇḍharvas*, are painted one in each of the two corners on the top. The whole background and all the outlines in it are drawn in rich brick red colour. The fine brush work especially in line drawing of the ancient artists of the 9th and 10th centuries is completely absent. The graceful poses given to the limbs of human figures showing a feeling for movement in the paintings of the 9th and 10th centuries in southern India are also absent from it.

Of the remaining lithic temples in the State, the Garbhagṛha and Ardhamandapa of the Balasubrahmanya temple in Kaṇṇanūr and Tirumalaikadāmbaṛ temple on Kaḍāmbarmalai in Nārttāmalai may be grouped together as buildings of the same category though the latter belongs to a subsequent period. 'Dome', neck and finial of the spires of both the temples are round. The Balasubrahmanya temple has four elephant figures in stone on the top of the central Vimāna; these were no doubt placed at the corners of the main shrine as emblems of the presiding deity. Another stone figure of an elephant is placed inside the Mahāmāṇḍapa facing the Garbhagṛha. On the faces of the corbels also of two of the pillars standing opposite to the Garbhagṛha and supporting the Mahāmāṇḍapa, the figure of an elephant is cut in relief. Gajavāhana (elephant-rider) being one of the important names given to Subrahmanya, this is evidently an emblem of the presiding deity, viz. Balasubrahmanya.

All the remaining structural temples within the State may be taken to form one group. They are all compact small edifices built completely of well dressed and close fitting gneiss blocks. On plan each of these measures about 8 feet square and the walls are 1' 9" in thickness. It is composed of a small shrine chamber and a closed ante-chamber attached to it in front with a small entrance facing east. The walls are adorned externally with series of four-cornered pilasters each surmounted by a Kalāśa, Kumbha, Padma, and Palagai all ornamented with the simple ornamentation as in the case of all other structural temples of the early Coḷa period.

The corbels placed above them are plain and angular in outline. In many of them no figure niches are provided in the walls. But when they are provided, double arched Makaratoṣaṇas adorn their tops as in the Agastīśvara temple in Panahgudi. No Bhūtatoṣaṇas are carved beneath the cornice, though they figure in the case of other temples of the period. A plain beaded moulding is found in its place. The Vimāna is plain and simple; it is single storied and resembles in shape those of the shrines of the Mūrvarkovil at Koḷumbāṣūr. Round the central shrine are found seven smaller shrines exactly similar in shape and structure to the central Vimāna and a boundary wall (prakāra) is put up round the whole plot covered by these shrines. None of the temples mentioned in the present group retains all these features intact. In the Kāliyāpatti Śiva temple the finial above the Śikhara is missing and the only structure that stands intact is the central Vimāna. Only the basements of all the surrounding main shrines and that of the Ardhamāṇḍapa are standing in their places now. In the Tiruppetr Śiva temple a major portion of the Śikhara of the Vimāna is missing; but its Ardhamāṇḍapa is standing in its original place. No traces of its surrounding shrines or of its boundary walls are visible now. In the Panahgudi Śiva temple, the central Vimāna with the finial on its top and the Ardhamāṇḍapa in front of it are all intact. But of sub-shrines surrounding it only the basement of only one of them is visible on its southern side. None of the other sub-shrines or the Prakāra round it can be traced. In Viśālūr the central shrine,

the Vimāna over it with all its component parts and the Ardhamandapa also belong to this type, and so, to a certain extent, does the temple in Cittūr in Nālūr vaṭṭam in Tirumayam taluk.

In all the temples described, well-dressed and close fitting gneiss blocks are used for the square Garbhagṛha with spire and the closed Ardhamandapa attached to it. All the other buildings standing in front of the edifice, if any, are of a later period. All these temples face east or west and are dedicated to Śiva. Their walls on each side are generally adorned with pilasters and in some cases with figure niches in the middle (Sundarēśvara temple in Tirukkaṭṭalai, Mūvarkovil in Koḍumbālūr, Tiruvagnīśvara Kovil in Cittūr, Balasubrahmaṇya temple in Kaṇṇanūr, Agastīśvara temple in Panaṅguḍi). Without niches are: Vijayalaya Coḷīśvara temple on Melamalai in Nārttāmalai, Śiva temples in Viśālūr, Kāliyāpaṭṭi, Tiruppūr, and Enādi (Pl. XI). The pilasters have their usual component parts of the capital, i. e. 'tāḍi, kumbha, padma' and 'palagai', all decorated with simple ornamentation. The corbels placed above the pilasters are in some cases decorated with rolls or the roll ornament may have a slightly raised median band as in Pallava structures with the exception that one of the rolls in them is reversed. In other cases they are plain and bevelled at the ends. Where the walls are provided with niches for deities, double arched Torāṇas are usually carved in bas-relief over the niches as in Pallava structures.

The cornice running above the edifice is thick and single arched and is ornamented at close intervals along its whole length with Kūḍu's crowned with trifoliated pieces of carved stone in place of flat headed finials, shaped like garden spades, found in Pallava structures. All these gables are also carved with fine scroll work and so are the ends of the cornice. Its lower edge is decorated throughout its length with a series of small semi-circles, simulating lotus petals. A frieze of Vyālavari with heads of Makara jutting out at the corners runs above the cornice. All these features are seen invariably in all structural temples of this period. In many temples a row of Bhūtagaṇas also runs immediately below the cornice.

The Vimāna over the central shrine is plain and is generally composed of a Grīva, Śikhara and Kalaśa. When it is many-storied these are placed at the top. When the Śikhara is four-sided the Grīva below and the Kalaśa above are four-sided and the interior of the Vimāna is pyramidal as already described. When, however, the Śikhara is circular and

dome-shaped, both the Grīva and Kalaśa are circular. The Grīva is usually provided with figure niches on its four sides and the Śikhara has a Kūḍu in each of its four sides just above the niche in the Grīva. These gable windows are crowned with Simhalalāṭa and are delicately carved with scrolls. Where the Śikhara is four-sided, a floriated scroll is carved on its four corners. In addition to this, the lower rims of the Śikharas are invariably carved with series of small semi-circles evidently representing lotus petals to form a fringe.

In all these temples of this period, minor shrines similar to the main shrines in shape and style but smaller are invariably found standing separately on its four sides and the whole area is enclosed by a boundary wall or Prakāra. Of the structural temples built in the Pallava period, the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeevaram has similar minor shrines, but they are all contiguous to the outer walls of the main shrine. In temples built in the early Coḷa period, they are isolated from the main building and separately surrounded the main shrine. All these edifices including the main shrine are invariably covered with plaster.

Where the Vimāna is composed of more than one story, two door-keepers are generally found placed on either side of the outer entrance of the Ardhamandapa (cf. Sundarēśvara temple in Tirukkaṭṭalai, Vijayālaya Coḷīśvara temple on Melamalai in Nārttāmalai, Mūvarkovil in Koḍumbāḷūr). They are standing figures with crossed legs and two arms only, holding massive clubs, each entwined by a serpent.

Thus in all temples built completely in stone in the early Coḷa period, Pallava features still predominate but the Coḷas decorated and modified them.



THE POLARITY OF THE INDEFINITE

By BETTY HEIMANN

In his article (Bull. S. O. S, 1934, pp. 487 ff.) Coomaraswamy deals with one of the most important problems not only of Indian philosophy but of philosophy in general, a problem, however, for which India has found perhaps the most comprehensive expression. It is that of the inherent polarity of the 'summum', the highest, which is regarded as the indefinite, complicated by the ambiguity of its many functions and accordingly of its graphic representation¹.

Coomaraswamy appropriately opens his investigations with quoting the different Sanskrit terms for zero of which he finds a surprising collection: 'śūnya' = void; 'pūrṇa' = full; 'ākāśa' = the indefinite space; 'vyoma' = the all-interwoven space; 'antarikṣa' = the immeasurable region between heaven and earth; 'nabha' = the nave of a wheel; 'kha' = a cavity or emptiness (hence unlimited pleasure or knowledge); and finally 'an-anta' = the endless. Coomaraswamy examines especially the complex meanings of 'nabha' and 'kha' and shows that, for instance, 'nabha', the hub or smallest (central) part of a wheel, potentially comprises also the length of its spokes and even that of its fellow; the term thus denoting at once the smallest and the largest measurement (of the wheel). Therefore 'nabha' may well be used as a synonym for zero which C. explains as being both, absence and matrix of all numbers ($0 = x - x$).

Coomaraswamy rightly combines his mathematical speculations on zero with the general religio-metaphysical concepts of India, connecting them with the early Vedic idea of the deity which represents the indefinite,

1. To the investigation of this problem the greater part of my own researches have been devoted now for a number of years. Cf. my articles in 'Kantstudien' 1925 and 1926; my book 'Studien zur Eigenart indischen Denkens' Tübingen 1930; my lectures published in *Proceed. Intern. Congr. of Orientalists*, Rome 1935; etc., etc.

original (and final) unity from which all separate shape has come and into which it is ultimately re-united.

By way of developing my own earlier expositions on the Indian idea of the indefinite and its connection with the mathematical-metaphysical concepts of zero, i. e. that which is beyond all size, I would like to corroborate and at the same time supplement C.'s statements stressing more than he does, the philological-philosophical side of the problem, besides tracing the metaphysical concepts involved right through the later Vedic and post-Vedic times which throughout retained the same basis of thought. This latent polarity of expression (polarity as 'coincidentia oppositorum' in the logical sense, and re-absorption of all separate actual shape into the highest being in the ontological sense) is highly typical of all periods of India's productive thought. Thus the early Vedic Aditi (lit. the unbound or undissolved) is considered the mother of all gods and powers, the unshaped as the potentiality of all shape.—In the same way the Upaniṣadic Brahman is the highest being, as the 'na-iti', 'na-iti', the not-only-this and not-only-that, the no-thing and the unity of all things. Accordingly Brahman is logically conceived as being polar in qualities and functions alike. While at rest, it yet moves in every direction; its size is at once that of the smallest grain and the biggest form; in other words being beyond the limits of separate shape, it is not bound to a single function or definite quality or size. It is compared to the 'aṇutva' the atom-like, (Chānd. Up. 6), being immense in smallness, and as such becomes a symbol of all polarity. 'Aṇutva' is identified with the immense in the positive sense of going beyond all number and size; it is likened to the immensity of the ocean, the shapeless receptacle of all shape into which discharge all single streams.

Another symbol of the highest is taken from the psychological sphere. It is that of 'Suṣupti', deep sleep, the super- or sub-conscious state into which even the indirect and apparently unconnected experiences of the dream are merged. 'Suṣupti' is the symbol of the highest, the indefinite or not-differentiated; it is the stage of 'mokṣa' attained already in life-time, i. e. the stage of liberation from differentiation and individuality, from single shape and single experience.

To the same trend of thought belong the general concepts of 'Nirvāṇa' and 'Māyā', its counterpart. The latter, as I tried to prove elsewhere¹,

1. 'Indian and Western Philosophy', Allen and Unwin, London 1937.

is the actual world of separate, measurable forms ('Mā-yā' 'from 'mā' = to measure), while 'Nirvāṇa' is, psychologically, the dissolving of all single experience and, ontologically, the dissolving of all separate shape of 'Māyā'; it is the re-absorption, logically, psychologically, and ontologically of all singleness into the vast reservoir of the no-longer-thing, the all and the no-thing. As C. and myself¹ have pointed out, this concept of 'Nirvāṇa' is adequately identified by Bhāskara and his mathematical school with 'Śūnya' = zero.

The same polar idea underlies the highest ontological concept of the Sāṅkhya philosophy where the A-vyaktam (lit. that which is not bent apart: 'vy-afī') into the multitude of actual shapes which are but its manifestations) is the indefinite, the original and final unity of all things.

Late Hinduism, too, clings in its popular belief to the philosophical presupposition of the inherent polarity of the highest being. God Śiva combines in his divine personality all polar natural functions simultaneously: he destroys and generates, just as Nature generates in destroying and destroys in generating.

It must be remembered that India's fundamental concepts, psychological, ontological, and logical alike, are all derived from observation of the polarity of Nature as manifested in her endless combination of paradox functions.

Also in Indian ethics we find that the highest concept is that of the merging into one of all qualities. Good and bad are not final ethical qualities, opposed to each other. Karma, the good as well as the bad, are ultimately to be abandoned. In all Yoga doctrines the neutral idea of indifference is supreme.

From these few hints we may gather what must be for the Indian the highest aim. In religion, philosophy, psychology, ontology, mathematics, ethics, and logic, in short in all possible disciplines of thought, he postulates something which is beyond distinction, beyond opposition, beyond limits: the indefinite and, as such, the infinite.

Having thus discerned the general philosophical background we can now safely return to philology. As we have already seen in the case of logics, mathematics, and ontology, no discipline of thought can in India

1. 'Kunststudien' 1925.

be separated from the general view. Anu-ikṣiki, the perspective look along all things, the general and generalizing science, is India's highest concept of philosophy. From this general background we shall try to elucidate some of the special difficulties which Indian grammar is ever likely to present to Western minds. In this attempt we can go even farther than Coomaraswamy does. We can prove that not only one single concept may acquire polar meaning through divergent terminology (synonyms), but even that one single term can be polar in itself, i. e. unite opposed, even conflicting, meanings. Of this the root 'śūn' or 'śvā' from which 'śūnya' is derived, affords a striking example. 'Śūnya' = void and 'śūna' = excessive, swollen, both come from this root¹, and it is in this way that the synonym for 'śūnya' : 'pūrṇa' = full, finds its explanation. 'Śūnya' is the productive point of indifference between or beyond all ciphers, i. e. all limited size : it is both, the all and the no-size. Already in the Rgveda we encounter a term having a similar polar meaning. 'A-bhva' (lit. that which has no 'bhū', no becoming, no actual dynamic existence) is the immense as going beyond the limits of the world of the phenomena in either a positive or negative sense (nothing or immense). Everything that transgresses these bounds has in India a polar meaning : it is opposed to all definite singleness and logical definition. Thus 'antara' = that beyond the ends, can designate not only the 'interior' but also the 'exterior', i. e. all that lies beyond the 'anta', the fixed limit.

Similarly all compounds formed with the prefix 'ati-' beyond, acquire a polar or contradictory meaning. The following are some examples of this. 'Ati-nidra', lit. 'beyond sleep', can mean : either excessive sleep or sleeplessness. 'Ati-prasanga' is both : excessive attachment and over-rudeness. 'Aty-antika' means : distant as well as very near. 'Ati-māyā', lit. 'beyond all Māyā', all measure, is, according to India's fundamental tendency towards the no-longer-limited, the state of liberation.

A similar ambiguity prevails in the case of compounds formed with the prefix 'prati' which designates both : forward and backward tendency (movement). Thus 'praty-anilam' means not only 'against', but also 'before' (i. e. in the direction of) the wind².

1. This is explained in greater detail in my book 'Indian and Western Philosophy', London 1937.

2. Further examples for this and the following paragraphs see : *Proceed. Intern. Congr. Rome 1935*.

Verbal roots reveal India's fundamental bias towards ambiguous wide-ness of expression. It is well to keep in mind that India's canon of values is derived from the very manifestations of her own powerful tropical Nature, and that Indian thought has been ever reluctant to accept purely rational discriminations imposed, as it were, from outside upon the unending multiplicity of the phenomena.

To Western grammarians, and even to some later Indian scholars who through over-specialisation in their particular fields of knowledge had failed to preserve their original openness of mind towards the limitless of India's general view, it sometimes seemed necessary to split up one verbal root into two or more on account of its alleged incomprehensible vagueness and otherwise inexplicable manifoldness of original sense and its subsequent derivations.

We cannot here treat in detail of another peculiarity of Indian grammatical morphology which consists in the interesting fact that phonetically related roots have all a similar, if not the same, meaning. Although they, too, afford striking instances of that unbounded variability of Indian expression; a few examples will have to suffice. 'Car', 'cal'=move, shake; 'jvar', 'jval'=burn, illumine; 'dyut', 'jyut'=illuminate, irradiate; 'rup', 'lup', 'ruj'=break, tear; 'cud', 'truṣ', 'tud', 'tuj', 'nud'=pierce, push; 'gard', 'garj', 'gūrd', 'kūrd', 'gūrdh'=leap, roar; 'kṣar', 'kṣal'=flow, penetrate, wash (hence: dissolve); 'grah', 'glah'=take, gamble (a special form of taking).

As to the opposite case, i. e. that of one single root comprising several divergent meanings, there are some like 'yu'=unite, separate; 'li'=cling, be unsteady (in the intensive form of the root); 'vas'=dwell, speed which seem to comprehend the widest range of oppositions (cf. also the above mentioned root: 'sūn').

Others are only apparently contradictory in meaning, representing cause and effect, i. e. two different stages of the same function. E. G. 'ṛj'=move and stand still (on reaching the goal); 'hā'=attain and give up (what has been attained).

Again others, though not contradictory in themselves, are yet incomprehensibly wide to the European mind. E. G. 'drā'=sleep and run away (intermediate sense probably: vanish); 'ṛṣ' go and kill (intermediate sense probably: pervade); 'aś'=reach and eat (intermediate sense probably: grasp); 'luth'=roll and rob (intermediate sense probably: overpower);

'vr̥'=choose and cover (intermediate sense probably : protect) ; 'śam'=labour and be calm (intermediate sense probably : be weary after labour).—'Sidh'=succeed and drive off (two stages of mastering) ; 'vid'=find and know (once more two stages of virtually the same action). 'Kṣi'=rule and destroy (cause and possible effect) ; etc., etc..

To sum up, the Indian mind sees things synthetically and dynamically, as a 'sive-sive', a 'this as well as that', not as fixed 'either-or' ('aut-aut'). We find that the very ambiguity of a Sanskrit term is always indicative of the wideness of the concept underlying it, as its true image ; and all terms and concepts are symbols of Nature's polar and ambiguous functions. The last aim of expression is to give a sense of that highest and infinite which cannot be grasped through singling out and drawing distinctions, but, on the contrary, only through unifying comprehensiveness going as far as polarity and 'coincidentia oppositorum'.



SUR QUELQUES IMAGES KHMÈRES DE VAJRADHARA

Par VICTOR GOLOUBEV

Dans sa magistrale étude sur les *Bronzes khmers*, parue en 1923, M. George Coedès signalait un groupe de statuettes représentant une divinité du panthéon mahāyāna dont les attributs sont le foudre et la clochette¹. Figuré toujours assis "à l'indienne", ce personnage porte invariablement la parure habituelle des dieux et bodhisattvas, c'est-à-dire tiare conique et diadème royal, colliers rigides ou souples finement ciselés, bracelets, anneaux de cheville, pendants d'oreilles... Ses représentations ne se distinguent entre elles que par la position des mains. Dans certains spécimens, celles-ci sont ramenées sur la poitrine, en se superposant l'une à l'autre (pl. XII A) ; dans d'autres exemples, seule la main droite, celle qui est armée du foudre, a conservé cette position, tandis que la gauche tenant la clochette repose sur la hanche (pl. XII B). On connaît, en outre, des statuettes où les deux mains sont placées sur les hanches, mais elles sont extrêmement rares, et n'ont pour nous que l'intérêt d'une variante insolite. Quant aux deux autres attitudes, elles ont permis à M. Coedès de reconnaître dans les figurines en question, en tenant compte des attributs, les images de Vajradhara et de Vajrasattva, deux entités bouddhiques du plus haut rang.

A notre connaissance, cette identification n'a jamais soulevé de critique. Si, néanmoins, un léger doute plane encore sur elle et nous empêche de l'accepter d'emblée, il nous vient de M. Coedès lui-même. Nous lisons, effet, dans *Bronzes khmers*, à propos des noms de Vajradhara et de Vajrasattva : "Comme ces deux noms ne se rencontrent pas dans l'épigraphie cambodgienne, et que nous avons déjà vu d'autre part Vajrapāṇi invoqué au début des inscriptions de Bat Cūp et vénéré dans un des trois sanctuaires,

1. G. Coedès, *Bronzes Khmers*, *Asiatica*, V, 1923, p. 43-44 (pl. XXVII-XXIX).

* The accents on a, i, o and u, and certain diacritical marks are omitted for typographical reasons. Ed.

j'ai cru pouvoir réunir toutes ces statuettes sous la dénomination unique de Vajrapāṇi dont Vajradhara et Vajrasattva ne sont d'ailleurs que des succédanés.¹ La réserve qui s'exprime en ces lignes est-elle vraiment justifiée devant un fait aussi évident, aussi indiscutable, que la parfaite analogie, à quelques détails près, entre les représentations tibétaines ou népalaises de Vajradhara-Vajrasattva et les bronzes khmèrs identifiés par M. Coedès (Pl. XII C-D) ? D'autre part, le terme Vajrapāṇi relevé dans les inscriptions de Bat Cūṃ, lorsqu'il ne s'emploie pas comme simple qualificatif, peut prêter à confusion, car il désigne la plupart du temps un dharma-pāla ou "défenseur de la religion", lequel bien qu'émanant de Vajradhara, occupe dans la hiérarchie divine du bouddhisme un rang inférieur à celui d'un ādi-buddha². Malgré le silence des textes, nous sommes donc enclin à considérer la lecture "Vajradhara-Vajrasattva", suggérée par M. Coedès, comme absolument correcte, et c'est de plein accord avec elle que nous avons rédigé les pages qui vont suivre.

II

Il existe au dépôt d'Angkor Thom une statue de pierre, de l'époque du Bayon, représentant un personnage assis en paryāṅkāsa, à la façon des bouddhas khmèrs, et laquelle, en dépit d'une facture assez médiocre, mérite notre attention à cause des attributs placés dans ses mains (Pl. XIII A). Ces attributs sont le foudre et la clochette. On voit nettement, dans notre photographie, la pointe du vajra tournée vers le spectateur, ainsi que le manche de la ghaṇṭā tenue horizontalement. Si l'on rapproche cette sculpture des statuettes décrites dans le précédent paragraphe, les affinités iconographiques sautent aux yeux. On constate toutefois que dans la statue en pierre, bien plus que dans les figurines en métal, la position des mains rappelle la vajra-hum-kara-mudrā, geste habituel de l'ādi-buddha

1. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

2. Nous connaissons deux images de ce dharmapāla, contemporaines, sans doute, des inscriptions de Bat Cūṃ ; elles sont sculptées en bas-relief sur deux petits monuments bouddhiques en forme de bornes, découverts en 1921 près de Phnom Srok, dans la province de Battambang. L'un de ces monuments se trouve actuellement au Musée Guimet (cote 17487). Voir à ce sujet : Pierre Dupont, *Catálogo das Coleções Indochinenses do Museu Guimet*, Paris, 1934, p. 92. L'identification des deux bas-reliefs avec Vajrapāṇi a été faite par Louis Finot dans *Lokapala en Indochine, Études Asiatiques publiées à l'occasion du vingt-cinquième anniversaire de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1925, t. I, p. 263. Pour les inscriptions de Bat Cūṃ, voir l'article de M. G. Coedès avec la traduction de ces textes dans *Journal Asiatique*, dixième série, t. XII, 1906, 2^e semestre, p. 213 suiv.



Vajradhara.¹ Nous avons encore une autre particularité à noter. Lorsqu'on examine la statue d'Angkor Thom du point de vue des parures et du vêtement, on s'aperçoit qu'elle n'a gardé du riche costume des dieux et bodhisattvas khmèrs que le diadème royal et la coiffe conique ; collier, bracelets, pendants d'oreilles ont disparu ; quant au morceau d'étoffe qui s'arrête à hauteur des hanches en laissant le torse entièrement nu, nous croyons y reconnaître non pas un sampot, mais un humble pagne de moine (*antaravasaka*). Ajoutons, pour compléter notre description, que le personnage en question a pour support une sorte d'abaque aux angles arrondis, destiné sans doute à être encastré dans un piédestal.

Que le sculpteur ait voulu représenter un Vajradhara ou un Vajrasattva, et plutôt un Vajradhara qu'un Vajrasattva, cela paraît évident. Mais dans ce cas, que signifie l'extrême simplification des parures et le vêtement monastique ? N'est-il pas de rigueur que les images représentant le "dieu suprême du panthéon bouddhiste" nous le montrent paré comme un roi ? La règle, hatons-nous de l'ajouter, a été toujours observée par les bronziers et ciseleurs cambodgiens. Pour quelles raisons un tailleur d'images, contemporains sans doute de ces artisans et travaillant dans les mêmes conditions qu'eux, s'est-il cru autorisé à l'enfreindre ?

Nous connaissons encore deux autres statues semblables à celle qui vient d'être décrite, et datant également de la fin du XII^e siècle. L'une provient de Banteai Chmar, dans la résidence de Battambang où nous l'avons vue encore *in situ*, en février 1921 (pl. XIII B). Elle a été transportée depuis au Musée Albert Sarraut, à Phnom Penh. L'autre se trouve à Angkor, à côté d'un petit groupe de ruines voisinant avec le Prasat Ta Kéo et connu sous le nom de la "Chapelle de l'Hôpital" (pl. XIII C).

De ces deux sculptures, celle du Musée Albert Sarraut se distingue par l'élégance des proportions et la finesse des traits. Malheureusement, il lui manque le bras gauche ; en outre, les deux mains sont plus qu'à moitié brisées. Ramenée à hauteur de l'épigastre et rapprochées l'une de l'autre

1. Voir pl. XIII A. C'est sans doute pour des raisons d'ordre technique que les bronziers khmèrs, moins habiles ciseleurs que les Tibétains, ont remplacé la mudrâ classique de Vajradhara, telle qu'elle apparaît dans les statuettes lamaiques, par une mudrâ moins compliquée où les mains ne se croisent pas, mais se superposent en se rapprochant plus ou moins l'une de l'autre, devant la poitrine. Leur exemple a été suivi par les tailleurs d'images, astreints en outre à des précautions spéciales que leur imposait la nature friable du grès cambodgien.

de façon à se toucher par les poignets, elles faisaient le même geste que la statue conservée au dépôt d'Angkor Thom, geste particulier aux bouddhas mystiques ayant pour attributs le foudre et la clochette. Nous pouvons donc admettre qu'il s'agissait ici également d'une représentation de Vajradhara. Bien que les deux sculptures évoquent sans nul doute la même divinité mahāyāniste, elles se distinguent, l'une de l'autre, par un détail sur lequel nous croyons devoir insister. Si le Vajradhara d'Angkor Thom n'a gardé de la parure princière, prescrite par les iconographes, que le diadème orfèvre, sous sosie de Banteai Chmar est, lui, un bouddha vrai qui ne diffère d'un bouddha khmère non paré, de type courant, que par le geste que font ses mains. Voyons maintenant quelles sont les conclusions que nous pouvons tirer des observations faites sur les deux statues.

La première idée qui s'impose est que nous avons affaire à une évolution iconographique à deux phases ou étapes, et qui aboutit à la création d'un type spécial de Vajradhara, dépourvu de toute parure royale, mais ayant conservé sa mudrā et ses attributs. À quels besoins religieux correspondait cette transformation inattendue que les maîtres imagiers de Jayavarman VII ont fait subir à un thème plastique établi depuis des siècles ? Quel en était le sens, le but ? Il est difficile de répondre à ces questions. Nous savons bien peu de chose sur le Mahāyānisme au Cambodge. Nous ignorons notamment si les doctrines du Vajrayāna y étaient en vogue à l'époque où s'édifiait le Bayon et jusqu'à quel point leur enseignement avait pénétré dans la conscience de l'élite sacerdotale ou se recrutaient les chapelains et les hotars du roi. Nous sommes donc réduit aux hypothèses. Peut-être s'agissait-il, en retirant à Vajradhara ses parures royales, de rendre plus intelligible, aux yeux des fidèles, l'essence extra-terrestre de cet ādibuddha et d'éviter ainsi toute confusion résultant de l'analogie qu'offrent ses représentations habituelles, consacrées par la tradition indienne et tibéto-népalaise avec les images d'autres "detenteurs du foudre", d'un caractère moins abstrait, moins transcendant, tels que, par exemple, Vajrapāṇi (Vajrin) ou même Indra. La chose ne paraît pas impossible lorsqu'on songe à certains bouddhas du Barabudur dans lesquels M. Krom et M. Stutterheim ont cru reconnaître des Vajrasattva dépouillés de leurs attributs et de leurs bijoux princiers¹. Mais on peut également admettre une autre expli-

1. Cf. Paul Mus, *Barabudur*, *Bull. de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 1933, p. 347 et suiv.

cation. Dans une récente monographie sur Jayavarman VII, M. G. Coedès mentionne un certain nombre de statues khmères qu'il suppose être des portraits de ce roi. Parmi ces sculptures se trouve la statue de Banteai Chmar identifiée par nous avec Vajradhara. M. Coedès y voit une image de roi-donateur, "image impersonnelle, idéalisée sous les traits classiques et canoniques d'un bouddha"¹. Et il rappelle à ce propos que Jayavarman VII se considérait lui-même comme un bouddha vivant et se faisait représenter comme tel par ses maîtres-imagiers. Serait-il, par hasard, possible de concilier l'interprétation suggérée par M. Coedès avec celle que nous avons tentée nous-même en identifiant le "donateur" de Banteai Chmar avec Vajradhara ? A notre avis, rien ne s'y oppose, si l'on admet, ainsi que nous l'avons fait, que le personnage en question tenait dans ses mains non pas des fleurs de lotus, aux longues tiges flexibles, mais une clochette et un vajra. En d'autres termes, si l'on tombe d'accord sur ce point, il ne nous reste qu'à fondre en une seule les deux interprétations, celle de M. Coedès et la mienne, et reconnaître dans l'image que nous avons sous les yeux une effigie mystique de Jayavarman VII, représenté sous l'aspect d'un bouddha suprême faisant le geste de Vajradhara et portant ses attributs.

Nous allons voir maintenant si la statue que nous avons encore à décrire, ne nous apporte pas quelques indications en faveur de cette lecture iconographique. Ainsi qu'il a été dit plus haut, elle se trouve à Angkor. Découverte en 1920, au cours d'un débroussaillage effectué à l'Ouest du Prasat Ta Kéo, elle n'a point quitté le lieu où elle fut trouvée. Sommairement réinstallée sur un socle monumental que nous allons étudier de plus près toute à l'heure, elle accueille les rares visiteurs qu'attirent les vestiges d'un petit sanctuaire et d'un gopuram datant de Jayavarman VII. En dépit des nombreuses mutilations que cette statue a subies, il suffit d'un coup d'oeil pour se rendre compte qu'elle est identique aux deux autres. Attributs, mudrā, pagne monastique sont les mêmes. Par malheur, il manque la tête, et force nous est, si nous tenons à la restituer mentalement au corps décapité, de nous inspirer, pour cet effort de prothèse imaginaire, soit du Vajradhara de Banteai Chmar, qui est traité à la manière d'un véritable bouddha, soit de la sculpture au diadème royal, décrite au début

1. G. Coedès, *Un grand roi du Cambodge, Jayavarman VII*. Phnom Penh, 1935, p. 17-18.

de ce chapitre. Quoi qu'il en soit, le socle sur lequel repose la statue nous offre un élément d'étude nouveau, et dont l'intérêt paraît considérable. Nous avons déjà fait allusion, plus haut, à ses dimensions exceptionnelles. Mais plus encore que par sa taille, il attire notre attention par le caractère de son ornementation exécutée en bas-relief. Les statuaires khmèrs, d'habitude, ne sculptaient pas sur les socles des images de culte les attributs des dieux que ces images représentent. Or, sur le piédestal de l'idole mutilée, se profilent, alternant avec des fils de perles et de minces bandes verticales à feuillettes rampantes, des vajras menaçants, debout sur leurs pointes recourbées. Que signifient ces vajras ? On aurait tort, sans doute, d'y voir un simple thème décoratif. Il paraît infiniment plus vraisemblable qu'ils aient été sculptés pour accentuer et accroître le dynamisme magique de l'attribut placé dans la main du bouddha transcendant. En d'autres mots, piédestal et statue ne font qu'un, et le sujet qui contemple les vajras sculptés sur la base supportant l'idole, s'unit et s'identifie de ce fait même avec l'essence divine qui réside en celle-ci. Mais arrêtons la le flux des suggestions et conjectures, toujours faciles à émettre et si difficiles à prouver sans l'appui de témoignages écrits ! Nous voici, une fois de plus, amené à regretter que le Cambodge ancien ne nous ait point légué de texte se rapportant à la doctrine du "corps de diamant" (*vajrasarīra*), ni de traité comparable au *Sang Hyang Kamahayanikam*, si précieux pour la connaissance du mahāyānisme javanais et des théories mystiques issues du culte de Vajrasattva.

Nous avons déjà dit quelques mots du site où se trouvent la statue et le piédestal. Du fait que non loin de ces sculptures, à l'intérieur d'un prasat en ruines, avait été découverte une stèle reproduisant le fameux "édit des hôpitaux" de Jayavarman VII, on a déduit, non sans raison, que le site en question a été naguère occupé par l'une des 102 ārogyasālā ou établissements d'assistance médicale, fondées par ce souverain aussi pieux qu'imbu de sa gloire¹. Cette supposition se trouve renforcée par la présence d'un fragment de fronton provenant du prasat mentionné plus haut et où l'on distingue une représentation du bodhisattva Lokeśvara associée à celle d'un

1. Sur les hôpitaux de Jayavarman VII et l'édit se rapportant à ces pieuses fondations, cf. L. Finot, *Notes d'Épigraphie*, II, *L'Inscription sanscrite de Bay-fong*, dans *Bull. de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 1908, p. 18 et suiv. Voir aussi G. Coedès, *Un grand roi du Cambodge*, p. 81.



malade, apparemment atteint de lèpre nerveuse, auquel un infirmier s'apprête à masser la main.

Ce n'est pas sans raison que nous avons insisté sur ces détails. Nous savons, grâce à un passage de "l'édit des hopitaux" que les ārogyasālā réparties par Jayavarman VII sur toute la surface de son royaume, étaient placées sous l'invocation du "Maître des remèdes à l'éclat du beryl", le Bhaṣajyaguru-Vaiḍūryaprabhārāja, dont l'image était vénérée dans une chapelle spéciale (sugātalaya) attenante aux bâtiments occupés par les malades¹. Or, les nombreuses représentations de ce bouddha guérisseur qui jouit encore d'une grande popularité au Japon, en Chine et au Tibet, le montrent d'habitude assis, la main gauche placée dans le giron et tenant le bol à médicaments, tandis que la droite, s'ouvrant en varamudrā, offre un fruit fusiforme qui est le myrobolan. Parfois, le fruit est suspendu à une branche feuillue ou remplacé par une fleur². Les indices fournis par cette description suffisent, il nous semble, pour vouer à un échec certain toute tentative de rapprochement iconographique entre Bhaṣajyaguru et le personnage armé du foudre qui paraît s'être substitué au bouddha médical comme protecteur d'une ārogyasālā. Le problème qui se pose à nous est troublant. Il y a là une dérogation manifeste à la règle, et ce qui paraît aggraver le cas, c'est le fait qu'il s'est produit, pour ainsi dire, sous les yeux du roi et sans doute avec son consentement, aux portes mêmes de sa capitale. Quelles sont les raisons qui ont pu, pousser Jayavarman VII à ne pas respecter une loi établie par lui-même ? Nous n'en entrevoyons qu'une seule. Le promoteur royal de "l'édit des hopitaux" se considérait, nous le savons, comme un bouddha terrestre, fils de la divine Prajñāpāramitā. En édifiant à proximité d'Angkor une ārogyasālā plus grande que les autres, et sans doute plus richement dotée, n'aurait-il pas été tenté d'y placer, en guise d'idole tutélaire, salvifique et dispensatrice de bienfaits, sa propre image divinisée, armée du foudre-diamant et tronant sur un piédestal orné de vajras³ ? Quelle

1. Sur ce bouddha, voir la notice de M. Paul Pelliot dans *Bull. de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 1908, p. 33 et suiv.

2. Claude Pascalis, *La collection tibétaine du Musée Louis Finot*, Hanoi, 1938, p. 63.

3. L'importance de l'ārogyasālā que Jayavarman VII avait fait construire à proximité du Prasat Ta Kéo, c'est-à-dire dans le voisinage immédiat de sa capitale, résulte du fait qu'il comportait, outre les édifices en matériaux légers, destinés au personnel médical et aux malades, une chapelle et un gopuram en grès. Les autres hopitaux fondés par ce souverain ont disparu sans avoir laissé de traces, à l'exception, bien entendu, de ceux qui avaient été dotés d'une stèle.

que soit la valeur de cette interprétation, elle présente a nos yeux du moins un avantage : celui de s'accorder parfaitement avec l'hypothèse qui a été discutée plus haut et selon laquelle la statue de Banteai Chmar identifiée par nous avec un Vajradhara, serait un portrait de Jayavarman VII, le "Bouddha vivant".

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 C D. Bronzes laotiques. C-Vajradhara ; D-Vajrasattva (Musée Louis Finot, Hanoi).
 Pl. XIII. A.—Statue de Vajradhara (Dépôt d'Angkor Thom) ; B.—Bouddha faisant le geste de Vajradhara (Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom Penh).
 Pl. XIII. C.—Statue bouddhique tenant le foudre et la clochette sur piédestal orné de Vajras (Chapelle de l'Hôpital, Angkor).



AN ICONOGRAPHIC NOTE

By S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR



The illustration, p. 105 shows a sculpture in low relief on a side wall of the Hazāra Rāmasvāmi Temple in the Hindu imperial capital of Vijayanagar, now the ruins of Hampi, in the Bellary District of the Madras Presidency. Being in low relief and somewhat weather-beaten, it does not catch the eye of the visitor readily and is oftentimes not noticed. I am indebted to my friend Professor T. Ekambaram, Head of the Botany Department of the Presidency College, Madras, who brought the photograph to me. My friend had apparently no difficulty in seeing in this sculpture a representation of that aspect of Kṛṣṇa called Veṇu-Gopāla, Gopāla playing on the flute. In other localities of its provenance however, a representation of this form of Kṛṣṇa is called Gāna-Gopāla and Madana-Gopāla alternatively. If we should neglect for a moment the three extra hands on either side, and could visualise the image playing on the flute as it is, with only the two hands, we shall have an exact idea of the representation generally of Kṛṣṇa, the flute-player. That is the ordinarily prevalent form with only two hands holding the flute and applying it to the lips, the left leg planted firmly on the ground, the right leg placed obliquely across it as in this image, the dress and decoration being about the same. Two ladies also stand, one on each side as in this case generally, sometimes holding the chowri, sometimes playing musical instruments to accompany. The cows when they are in a pair are made to stand one each side facing forward. If it is a single one, it stands across just behind Veṇu-Gopāla. Such a picture

would leave absolutely no doubt in the mind of one who sees it as that of Kṛṣṇa, the flute-player. But the extra hands, three on each side in series, are a very unusual form for Veṇu-Gopāla.

While as we stated above, the two hands holding the flute are the normal feature of this image, Kṛṣṇa is sometimes exhibited, even in this form, with four hands, the two extra hands holding the characteristic weapons of Viṣṇu, the 'śaṅkha' (conch) in the left hand, and the 'cakra' (the discus) in the right. But a Kṛṣṇa image with more hands than four is comparatively rare, though not altogether impossible or unavailable¹.

In Conjeevaram there is a shrine dedicated to Viṣṇu and generally known as 'Aṣṭa Bhujam' (eight hands) as if the eight hands were an extraordinary feature of the Viṣṇu-deity in the shrine. Popularly the deity in this shrine, which is still in use as a place of worship, is called 'Cakrarāyar', the lord, the Discus of Viṣṇu. This popular name perhaps hides a recondite truth. The Cakra is described in Āgamaic literature as Sahasrāra, with a thousand spokes. But when it comes to a question of practical application,

1. There is one instance, at any rate, of this Gāṇa-Gopāla in Tenkāsī, reproduced as Madana-Gopāla, Pl. LXIII of Gopinatha Rao's *Hindu Iconography* (facing p. 210, Vol. I, part 1.); the cows and the ladies are absent, perhaps for the reason that there was no room, otherwise Veṇu-Gopāla is quite similar. There are the eight hands, the extra six hands are disposed differently as will be noticed. They are not in series as in the instance above, but held down in different degrees of inclination from the shoulder. The weapons in the three right hands are, according to Gopinatha Rao, 'padma' (lotus) in the lowest hand, the 'paraśu' (battle axe,) in the hand next above, and 'cakra' (discus) in the hand held vertically above. In the corresponding three hands on the left are the bow, which Gopinatha Rao calls the sugar cane bow, emblematic of Kāma. Then what Gopinatha Rao calls 'pāśa' (the rope) which does not appear quite so clearly in the block, and 'śaṅkha' above. These six are of course in addition to the two holding the flute, held up to the lips. In regard to the bow of sugar-cane and the arrow of flowers, which here could only be taken to be the 'padma', which certainly is not regarded as an arrow, but is generally one of the articles characteristic of Viṣṇu and held in the lowest right hand whether the number of hands be four or more than four, when there is the bow in the left, there ought to be an arrow in the corresponding right hand; and if we should accept the analogy to Kāma or Cupid, the lotus may serve the purpose. A lotus is one of the five flowers which are said to constitute the five flowery arrows of Cupid. Whatever that detail be, our purpose here is to indicate that the disposition of the extra hands here is again a normal disposition. By normal disposition we mean that that is the general way in which the hands are disposed, with different degrees of variation in the relative positions of these, in the generality of images of Viṣṇu with four hands or eight. But the extra hands in series as in the picture above is unusual. I am informed however, that there is a similar representation of Veṇu-Gopāla on one of the pillars in the great Viṣṇu temple at Little Conjeevaram dedicated to Varada-rāja. Apart from this other instance, I have not come across an image with the arms disposed in this fashion.

such as having to draw it on the ground, or in powder, for the purposes of mystic worship, it is generally drawn eight-limbed ; and gods in whatever aspect or form have to be invoked into this circle of eight limbs, and then it is that one is entitled to worship Him. The name Cakrarāyar therefore seems to indicate that there is a Cakra, a mystic figure of this kind exhibited either just behind the image, or making the image stand on it, hence the popular name. But in the Hampi illustration we are exhibiting now, one notices just at the back of the figure a representation of a blossomed lotus, which is just another form of the mystic Cakra, on which the Lord has to be invoked for purposes of worship. In prescribing the methods of worship one often comes upon 'āgamāic' text which prescribe the drawing of a lotus with petals in full blossom, the god's presence being invoked on the pericarp, and the attendant deities and the various minor gods being placed on the petals and other surrounding parts. But where a mystic 'japa' or prayer in concentration, has to be offered letters peculiar to the gods and goddesses are inserted in the various petals of the flowered lotus. It is that lotus that is here exhibited in the picture from Hampi. The various weapons are the following in series ; one of the extra right hands has a lotus ; the next one a small sword ; the next one has a discus. Across on the other side is a conch or 'śaṅkha' ; then the 'aṅkuṣa,' the elephant-goad, and next the 'pāśa' or rope tied up in a loop, the peculiarity of the disposition of the hands still remaining. The explanation of this peculiar representation of one of the very popular aspects of Viṣṇu is perhaps in the fact that it is a representation of a recondite form for worship with a definite object. It is laid down that, if one wishes to worship for earthly good, the object to be worshipped is an 'apara' god, that is an earthly representation of god. If it is the ultimate bliss or salvation that is wanted, the form of god to be worshipped is the 'para' form, God in the eternal ineffable form has to be invoked. In such a case, that is, in the former case, Viṣṇu in whatever aspect ought to be represented with eight hands, with his vehicle, with all his weapons and the attendant deities. He must be depicted of a deep blue colour, with red lotus eyes, and a cloth of yellow colour. He ought to be worshipped by being placed upon a red lotus. He should be given in his eight hands, the 'śaṅkha', 'cakra,' 'gadā' 'pādma, khadga, kheṭa, śara' and 'dhanus' ; conch, discus, mace, lotus, sword, shield, arrow and the bow. For convenience of reference, I have

set down the text below taken from the Paramasamhitā, chapter III, śloka 12 and 13,¹ and chapter IV, śloka 78 and 81².

It will thus be seen that the carving here, though presented more or less in secular form and unshrined, is perhaps meant to be a representation of one aspect of Kṛṣṇa, the flute-player, as he should be worshipped for gaining earthly prosperity.

Before concluding we may state it generally that eight-handed figures of Viṣṇu conform more or less to the rule laid down above but with minor variations to suit circumstances, which variations should not be held to break the general norm. The first and foremost consideration is what purpose the aspect of Viṣṇu worshipped is intended to serve. In the eight-handed Viṣṇu alluded to above in the shrine of Aṣṭabhuja in Conjeevaram, the disposition of the hands and weapons happens to be as in the generality of cases. The hands are placed at various angles pendant from the shoulder. On the right side the 'cakra' (discus), 'bāṇa' (arrow), apparently erroneous for 'khaḍga', 'padma' (lotus) and 'śara' (arrow); on the left side 'śaṅkha' (conch), 'cāpa' (bow), 'kheṭa' (shield) and 'gadā' (mace). It will be seen that the normal prescription for the right hand is 'cakra', 'gadā', 'padma', 'khaḍga'; and the normal for the left hand are the 'śaṅkha', 'kheṭa', 'śara' and 'dhanus', if we take the order of recital in the Paramasamhitā to be the prescribed order. But it apparently is not, as the bow and the arrow could not be on the same side. Usually the 'śara' or arrow is placed in the right hand, the 'cāpa' or bow in the left. In the case of the Aṣṭabhuja image, the aspect of Viṣṇu represented demands the bow and the arrow should be in the left and right principal hands, that is, generally the lowest; and since in the right hands happen to be placed here the 'bāṇa' and the 'śara' together, the 'bāṇa' ought to be held to represent a sword or 'khaḍga.' Viṣṇu is supposed to have appeared there to protect Brahmā's great penance. Brahmā was performing a great 'yajña' (sacrifice) in the locality to bring down on earth

1. Udayāyāpanaḥ-pājyaḥ nīrūpāya paraḥ pomaḥ/ Tatraṣṭabhujaṁkāraṁ kalpayitvā svā-
hamaḥ// III. 12.—Bāyudham saparivāraṁ udyānti prapādayet/ Mahendra-nīla sauktīam padmākṣam
pūta rāsasam// III. 13.—Aṣṭabāhustadārdhya rakta padme Janārdanaḥ/ Vāhanaṁyudhaśeṣeṣe pari-
vāraṁ samahṛtaḥ// IV. 78.—Śaṅkham, Cakram, Gadā, Padmam, Khaḍgam, Kheṭam, Śaram, Dhanuḥ/
Ityāyudhāni Devasya kureṣvaṣṭasam Padmaḥ// IV. 81.

2. In course of publication in the Gaikwad's Sanskrit Series with an English translation by me.

god Varadarāja, the deity in the Viṣṇu temple. His 'yajña' was being very badly disturbed by hostile genii as his penance was waxing hotter and hotter. So thunder and rain, floods and disturbances of a fearsome kind were made to occur, and, to protect Brahmā in this condition, Viṣṇu is said to have appeared. The form described is generally like Rāma, but with eight hands generally, Rāma having only two with bow and arrow. So the bow and the arrow must be provided and placed in the principal hands, the other hands holding the remaining weapons. A similar appearance is called for where the representation in image form is Viṣṇu as he presented himself on the occasion of saving the elephant from the clutches of the crocodile, 'Gajendramokṣa', as it is called. But this standard disposition of the hands and the distribution of the weapons is varied to suit each particular aspect of Viṣṇu. By way of illustration reference may be made to the representation of Viṣṇu as Vāmana-Tiruvikrama¹, the same Tiruvikrama in Bādāmi², and the representation in Ellora³.

One point of importance in respect of these three representations is that the raised leg is in different positions in these cases. In the Mahābalipuram image it is lifted up to the shoulder. That is one permissible

1. One in Mahābalipuram (Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, Supplement, plate 17; also Volume I, part i, plate 49 of Gopinatha Rao's Hindu Iconography).

2. Illustrated in Gopinatha Rao's book, pl. 50.

3. Ibid. pl. 51. It will be noticed readily that in the first, two hands are left free, the right hand held up as if to assure the gods of Tiruvikrama's success against Bali. The corresponding left hand is stretched out to point to the uplifted left foot as the refuge for all seeking it (abhaya). Then there are the discs, the mace and the sword in the right hands, the conch, the shield, and the bow in the left hand. I suspect what Mr. Gopinatha Rao calls a 'gaṇi' is really the lotus which takes the place of the 'śara' when it is actually present, though the disposition of the fingers and the hand would preclude such an assumption. In this case, we shall have to take it that the 'cāpa' is in the corresponding left hand to that of the 'śara'. In the Bādāmi Cave illustration there surely is on the right hand 'khaḍga' in the topmost hand, the discs in the next one just behind it, the arrow in the next one, and the mace in the lowest one. On the left side is the conch. The hand answering to the sword hand seems to be bare and may have to be held as the hand holding the shield by the disposition of the fingers. Next is the hand pointing to the left foot, one hand between holding the bow. Burgess describes the weapons of this as the discs, the sword, the mace or the club, the arrow in the right hands, the conch, the bow on the left, and he speaks of a bare hand "with the fourth arm that side, he points to a round grim face, perhaps Rāhu" Burgess calls the moon Rāhu, and what the hand actually points to is the uplifted foot in substitution as in the previous case for the 'abhaya' pose of that hand. A similar difference is noticeable in regard to this particular in the Ellora Tiruvikrama in respect of the disposition of the weapons. But the hand without the weapons clearly shows that the finger here is pointing to the uplifted foot.

form, and Brahmā in heaven is there exhibited as washing the feet with water from his 'kamaṇḍalu.' In the case of the other two, the left foot is raised only a part of the way up, going up to the navel, as is described in the second form. Then it is held to be only measuring the space above the earth, not the heavens. In the third case, which is permissible, but not generally found, this left leg is raised only up to the height of the knee. This is unusual. In regard to the sword in the first two cases, it is held uplifted though in slightly different dispositions, and in the third, it is held across the body. Such minor variations seem permissible notwithstanding the prescription in authoritative texts. In none of these forms, however, are the hands disposed of in series as in the illustration from Hampi, and that still constitutes its peculiar feature.



TREES, HUTS AND TEMPLES

By HEINRICH ZIMMER

The field of Indian history is saturated with blood and strewn with ruins. Blood and tears dry quickly. Little also of the ancient Hindu buildings, prior to the inroad of Islam, is to be found above ground: ruins of sanctuaries, while none of the palaces and profane structures have survived. The latter apparently were made of more perishable materials and apt to decay more easily than the sacred buildings. Stone has never been the obvious or even usual material of Hindu architecture in town and country; mud and wood, bark and leaves predominate. A classical text of later Hinduism the "Great Treatise on Extinction" throws light on the relation of Indian architecture to its materials. It is said in the thirteenth chapter: "whoever erects or renews a temple covered with wood or straw shall live with the gods for ten million years, and for hundred times that in the case of a brick-built shrine, whereas the builder of a stone temple is to enjoy the pleasures of heaven even ten thousand times longer than that. Stone, the durable material, is relatively rare; stone structures are expensive. They last longer and yield to the donor a correspondingly more enduring heavenly reward. If one imagines however the number of Hindu buildings erected in India during thousands of years to cope with an unfavourable climate and continued devastations by war, it is seen that stone as a building material does not actually compete with the lighter textures; it never determined the style of Hindu architecture.

To build in accordance with the demands of the respective building material has become with us an ascetic purism and a protest against thoughtlessness. Possibly less theoretically conscious than we are at the present, certain epochs and localities of human history also share this attitude whereas it remains outside others. Building there, as for instance in India is guided by other principles.

Stone when quarried lacks stereometrical regularity ; in itself it is not delimited cubically. Vulcanically driven forwards from within the earth, it is a liquid that has become rigid ; or else it is a sediment of the waters from above. It can be used in different ways : European architecture always attempted an escape home from the geometrical severity of the classical tradition and from clear cut tectonics, as of the pyramids, and later, of the Romanesque style with its composed pathos. The vegetative abundance of the late Gothic style, the halls of its churches like forests of palm trees, the play of flowers and leaves in the tracery of the windows show the pendulum of style reverted to the vegetative. The classicism of the Renaissance, the style of Palladio once more is a reaction in the geometrical direction, but then Baroque architecture makes the buildings bulge with an animalic life in undulating ground plans and domes. The interiors of the Rococo are enchanted bowers where walls and ceiling merge with gilded stucco scrolls. And again the pendulum swings back to the geometrical style of the new classicism, the Georgian, Empire, and the style of Schinkel. To-day's "new objectivity" with its cubical severity and the play of bare surfaces without decoration, is an ascetically cerebral reaction against the watery undulations of sentimental creeper excesses of the "Jugend" style.

The Indian temple, however, the only architectonic type in India of which the history can be traced over thousands of years, is shaped by other forces. Even when it is built of durable stone, nature takes it back avidly into her lap. The sub-tropical forest (for inst. in Cambodia) seizes with its embrace the palatial temples for which it had to make room previously ; its seed is the explosive that presses the stones out of joint. Brick temples furthermore, adorned with a stone mantle, require, like a garden path even in Europe, constant care to preserve them against the wild growth. It threatens to overgrow and to disrupt the temples. The donor who intends his votive gift of a temple to last for eternity, does well if he cuts it into the living rock itself of the earth so that it may endure to the end of the world. There it is also relatively protected against the frequent danger of earthquakes which are familiar to us in the West, from notices in the papers while in Indian myths they are a thundering echo to world events or to the exalted turning points in the Buddha legend.

India, amongst all other parts of the earth possesses rock temples which are not only caves in the interior of rocks, nor 'built' in front of them, nor mere decorative facades. They are carved out of the flank of the mountain, from the interior of the earth, from the living rock into the light of day. Rooms articulate with many parts and their richly carved facades appear like works of architecture when seen from inside as well as outside; yet they are the work of the chisel and instead of being built they are carved; legions of resounding hammer-strokes have chipped off and carved the solid masses of the living rock. Western principles of architecture fail and are incapable of application when confronted with these formations; they throw no light on these forms which may be called monumental sculptures in the round; as such they are the property of India alone. The living rock makes a seamless architectural sculpture. Compared with a building full of joints, it has the advantage of permanency.

Buildings need not represent anything; it suffices if they set up an inside against the outside, make a home for man and animal, and a sphere for god and idea against the world round about; roof and walls offer protection against sun and weather, night and inquisitiveness, glances and enemies. Buildings first of all fulfil purposes, even when their form is as consummate as that of the Greek temple; but sculpture signifies something: it re-shapes something. The rock-cut temple sculpture of India—the structural stone temples largely follow its example—like all sculpture, represents something; it exists as a symbol.

The temple sculptures carved from the coastal cliffs at Mahābalipur in the seventh century A.D. copy ageless types of huts with rectangular and pointed or else with tunnel-like thatched saddle roofs. Such temples occur in many places in south India and are to be found especially and to this day in the seats of retreat of the aborigines, i. e. with the Todas in the Nilgiris.

The original motif of the rectangular and matted house and the interior of its span roof, has influenced facade and interior of the Indian rock temples from the pre-Christian era to the sixth century A.D. It must have been of an overwhelming frequency, inevitable as it was in daily use. The innate character of stone as a building material could not cope with the archetype. Like ivory, wood or any other material which can be carved, stone, the durable material, was made to serve a plastic tendency in the

sculptures in the round which the carved temples are, or in cave monasteries cut into the massive rock. Stone helped to give eternal shape to the archetypal Indian idea of the house.

This grand indifference towards the innate qualities of the material is one of the principles of Hindu architecture. It does not swerve from the original and guiding image of the shape of the house, and the single parts of the building do not develop in a manner conditioned by stone, nor peculiar to their own function as in the case of the column in the architecture of classical antiquity in the West.

In the name of the European "architect" inheres the Greek "tekton," the "carpenter". The modern "arch-carpenter" however, thinks according to the material which he has to use for his special purpose, be it stone or ferro-concrete, glass or steel. He proudly develops the structure of his building according to the intrinsic nature of the material. It must not be disguised nor neglected; on the contrary, with an almost cult-like devotion it is made to yield its fullest expression. This conscientious use of the material is up against sham and thoughtlessness. India, however, in this respect occupies the other pole; her sacred architecture is spell-bound by plastic copying and it is irrelevant to the craftsman in which material the form is shaped. The divine patron of all building is Viṣvakarman, the pre-Aryan Indian god who is "versed in all works". His tool and weapon is his carpenter's axe. His original creation, the house made of rafters, mud and matting, remains obvious throughout the ages as the only current type. It is organic and frail like the human body. Ancient Veda verses blessing the new building speak of it as "clothed in grass"; they allude to the "main pillar" and to the "spinal rafter" which apparently carries the longitudinal vault of the saddle roof. They refer to the floor which is made firm by stamping. The main work is done by the carpenter: to build, in Sanskrit means to "measure asunder" (nir-mā) and to "measure downwards to the ground" (ni-mā); exorcisingly the plough outlines the groundplan, and the supporting frame of the house is built in accordance with these measures.

The house, according to Indian opinion, belongs to the repertory of natural forms; its organism consists of heterogeneous substances and supplies a simile to medical literature. It is said in elephant medicine; as a skilled person makes a house of mud, wood and bast so also is the body

"bound together by muscles, sinews and bones". The primitive house is supported by three posts, i.e. the spinal rafter and two uprights. The classical author of Indian medicine, Susruta, calls the human body "carried by three posts" : it consists of the three humours, wind, bile and mucus.

Hindu architecture does not abandon the forms at first conditioned by its building material which belonged to vegetation. Their plastic copies in stone and rock are saved from the problematical contrast between man's work and nature. This contrast gives a hopeless look to the outskirts of modern cities, an uncannily barren appearance to the stony expanse of their interior and is responsible for the neat and clean-cut rows of settlement buildings and their tedious playfulness in any scenery. The problem of a suitable transition into the surrounding landscape as yet remains unsolved. India however always remained a rural country ; towns never had the power to weaken the timeless prototype of the village huts ; their vegetation material makes a vegetation style : the enormous temple spires in Orissa with their maize-shape are themselves like vegetation and form part of their surroundings. Egypt, on the other hand, a narrow strip of fertile land between rocks and deserts discovered the crystalline hardness of the stone—a discovery of considerable consequence in Western architecture—the stereometrically faceted surface, the knife-like sharpness of the edges, the abstractly cubical. India on the contrary, comprehends the minerals as part of the entire vegetative existence of the world. The earth, according to Indian notions rests in an unfolded lotus-flower which sprouts from the navel of the all-god Viṣṇu ; its stamina are the mountains full of precious metals and jewels.—Like vegetative and animalic life in which throbs the sap of life eager to throw off seed, so are also the surging corn-cob spires of the Orissa temples. Like bamboo and shave-grass, they grow beyond themselves in steps, attenuated. Vegetation which surrounds rural India and swallows the sweat and sorrows of all the millennia of her agricultural labour, does not release her inner vision either. The forms of nature surround the eye in the house and outside ; involuntarily, plastic imagination is seized by this powerful prototype.

The richly articulated temple spires offer their sculptures like a gigantic umbelliferous mass its flowers, organically one ; with all their intricate accuracy of details they are never slight or merely pretty. In this respect too they are related to forms of nature. Like flowers which may

appear small on their branch of a tree in the garden, and, when brought near the eye have a telling magnificence of form altogether beyond the monumental or the graceful, the large or the small, that is, beyond human gestures and forms of expression, noble like nature herself, so also are the forms of these buildings unrelated to the proportions which the human eye and the inch-tape may apply to things.

Indian temple sculptures and structures are, it is clear, not intended to re-shape forms of nature : the sculptures mostly give shape to visions of heavenly worlds, terraced palatial towns of the blessed who live in pavilions on the slope of the residence of the god, or else they show soaring vehicle-worlds which also are similar pleasaunces like those on the world-mountain on which dwell the gods. If the groundplan of the temple or its gate is rectangular, the shape of the tower combines the heavenly over-world teeming with figure and pavilion-sculptures, and the archetypal rural hut, of which the gigantically vaulted span roof is made to top the pyramidal steps of the vision in stone. The steps however, whether plastically modelled in detail and with the likenesses of windows and faces, or else contracted into ornamental bands, consist, in length and breadth, of replicas of the archetypal house. The arch-Indian, pre-Aryan vision of the celestial over-world is permeated in these spires by the idea which the immigrated Aryans had about the dwellings of their gods : the stabile world-mountain with the seats of its gods and the soaring spheres of vehicles of the nomadically mobile gods are fused. The immigrating Aryans were trekking peasants with husbandry predominating over agriculture ; the "caravan" was the residence familiar to them from their migrations (it is the same with the trekking Boers in South Africa and with the pioniers of North American settlements through the Middle West to the Pacific and also with the Germans during their migrations ; we know of their carriage-castles from the reports of Caesar, onwards). The storied structure, however, teeming with pavilions covered by saddle roofs is rooted in pre-Aryan Indian cosmology, where, on the slopes of the world mountain and up to its summit, are the terraces of the worlds of the gods.

Here as everywhere else, Hinduism truthfully and unconcernedly kneads into one, the pre-Aryan and deep-seated heritage, and Aryan-Vedic vision ; Indra for instance, later on, as the god of rain, is made to ride on

the indigenous Indian sacred animal, the elephant, which is the magical bestower of rain according to pre-Aryan, ancient Indian vision ; previously however he drove as war hero in his speedy chariot drawn by fallow horses in front of the invading Aryans, the thunderbolt of the ancient Aryan sky god Zeus-Dyaus-Jupiter in his fist.

Elephants as caryatids support the "throne hall of Indra" carved out of the rock in Elura. They carry with inborn patience and grandeur the weighty magnificence of the palatial sculptures above. The dumb elasticity of their animal bodies is the noblest form given by Indian sculpture to the carrying figure. They are equivalent with the Kores of the Erechtheion perfect as women and at the same time as columns. Breathing body and carrying part of architecture, they are in Western art. The gigantic animal bodies in Elura, soaring within their weightiness, show most obviously the contrast between Indian and Greek architecture.

The interpenetration of the mountain and the chariot of the gods, as vision of the over-world, is pictured in stone by the singularly appropriate shape of the temple as the house of god on earth. This interpenetration results in a seething medley of forms on the late and gigantic South Indian temple gates ; in its contraction as well as in its unfoldment it remains equally inextricable. Thus it streams, a plenitude of world-spheres, from the upper and invisible lap of the infinite. This rich architectonic symbolism can dispense with the detailed crowds of divine figures on its steps ; spell-bound, the eye is guided upwards into ever higher spheres. A surging movement results and takes one's breath away while it manifests the scintillating play of perpetual unfoldment of the appearance of the world in all the spheres of Māyā, from the regions of the gods down to earth ; the devotees enter the lowermost story of the plastic symbol which visualizes the eternal becoming of the world out of the supramundane plenitude of the divine no-thing.

It is as in Goethe's doctrine of the fundamental idea of any being, plant or animal. The fundamental idea recurs as one and the same movement, transformed in flower, leaf and fruit, and in the outlines of the root and the top as well. The plastic visions of the world are built on every step, according to the archetype of the Indian peasant hut with its vaulted roof, now ornamentally contracted into flattened bands and then again

plastic and more accurate in details, and finally as the weighty crowning part of the entire structure.

In Orissa, and according to Goethe's principle of the "metamorphosis of the plant", another archetypal motif also predominates with its variations; the fruit of the Myrobalan tree (*āmalaka*). It is the typical conclusion of numberless corn-cob shaped temple spires and, with its ribbed shape it supplies the regularly recurring corner motif and caesura between the corbelled layers of stone. These too, although flattened ornamentally, consist of house-terraces of the celestial world. Ageless and popular pre-Aryan Indian tradition, long passed over with silence by Aryan Brahmanism, but ultimately taken up by the all-absorbing stream of Hinduism, teaches that the Myrobalan tree is an appearance of the highest god. It says that the Brahmin amongst the gods, god *Brahmā* himself had to witness its miraculous presence. Once, in the Western hills he found a wonderful Myrobalan tree bearing magnificent fruits. Wondering about its splendour, he meditated so as to probe its secret: He saw god *Viṣṇu*, adorned with all his weapons, soaring above the tree. But god and tree melted into one; already nothing could be seen but the image of the god, while the large tree was nothing but the foot of the god which he placed on earth. *Brahmā* reverently stepped under the top of the large tree, into the foot of the god. The Indian devotee who enters the cell of the temple beneath the top of the Myrobalan tree does it alike.

The *Bilva* tree is amongst the trees of *Śiva*. It issued from the pre-Aryan goddess of earth-humidity and fertility, *Śrī*. An Upaniṣad about this tree tells that *Śrī* worshipped *Śiva* as universal god. She worshipped him with the flowers which are her throne and the symbol of the generating humidity of the earth: with 1000 lotus flowers which are like the lap of the all-nourishing waters. To test her devotion, *Śiva* removed one flower from the perfect and round number; *Śrī* cut off one of her breasts to replace the missing flower. Overjoyed with this limitless devotion, *Śiva* placed this breast on his head and danced with it. He then put it on the summit of the *Śrī* mountain and a miraculous tree grew out of it, the *Bilva* tree. In its leaf are united all the gods, the trinity of the highest divinity, with *Brahmā* to the left, *Viṣṇu* to the right, *Śiva* in the middle; at the tip of the leaf is *Śakti* and where the stalk begins is *Indra* with myriads of gods. Whoever contemplates the leaf inwardly and puts

its with its back on his head, attains immortality in Śiva's heaven, for on the back of the Bilva leaf (as also of the vault of the sky) there is the Amṛta ; all the places of pilgrimage are mystically on the Bilva leaf.

Gods live in the trees ; the tree cult in India goes back to remotest antiquity ; Buddhism, a late growth, to the extent it became a religion of the people, could not avoid embodying the universal tree cult but transparently masked. It raised the venerated trees, sacred from antiquity, to be the consecrated witnesses of the illumination of the Buddhas of the different world ages. Trees, however, in mythical times, are also the dwelling places of men who then lived in the beginning of things and near to God. The textbooks of pre-Aryan, ancient Indian art-manufacture,—the religion without temples and pictures, of the immigrating Aryans has nothing to compare with them—have been codified by Brahmanism and at a late period. They give a picture of primeval times which explains the origin of the arts. The course of the world through the ages is one of degeneration ; arts and crafts make their appearance as necessary aids towards an ideal state, which while itself it lasted could dispense with them. In the beginning gods and men were not divided according to power and the lack of it ; together they played on earth, in caves, streams, ponds and multicoloured groves. No bar prevented men from flying to heaven with the gods ; and on earth men had the miracle trees which granted all desires ; later on these are to be found in the heavenly gardens only of the gods, "wish granting trees decked with variegated ornaments and immeasurably large like chariot-worlds of the gods." These are the divinely powerful arch-relatives of the trees which in later world ages and up to this day are venerated in India. It is said : "in these wish-fulfilling trees men lived at that time and played with ravishing women," for "towns, villages and hamlets, castles, fields and threshing floors did not exist as yet nor any danger from biting insects, rapacious animals or men-seizing demons. Appropriate enjoyments came to men from the trees which accomplished all their desires. There was for them no overlord in India at that time." Every vision of a paradisaical state shows that man can dispense altogether with the benefaction of communal life and the power of the state.

Acts of carelessness however bring about the end of this golden age, from paradisaical unconcern men sink deeper and deeper into the

cares and wants of civilisation which are familiar to us : "following the course of fate men began to hold the gods in contempt and these venerable omniscient ones remained without worship. The celestials then took the wish-fulfilling tree and flew with it into the heavens : man's capacity itself of going to heaven and his god-like, heavenly being went the same way." From human wants hitherto unknown results the building of houses, "to hide the intercourse of the sexes"—its animalic mode of propagating a bodily issue is far removed from beginnings near God—"and to keep off snow and hoar-frost, the cold, water and wind, men made huts and houses from trees which they felled with stones without compassion with the trees, with sorrow-tortured minds." Such is the origin of the wooden house in the stone age. Significant is the form attributed to the early historical dwelling : it goes back to a more ancient mode of dwelling in trees ; "men remembered the shape of the wishing trees and gave their form to their houses, with one, two or three, seven or ten rooms. They surrounded them with ramparts of grass, covered them with grass or the like, found them suitable, and rejoicing spent their time in them as house dwelling beings."

Trees of a mythical spaciousness and comfort are the prototypes which overshadow the original type of the Indian house and also, later on in history, the high Indian temples. The halls formed by the many stems of the Indian fig tree are living prototypes of the domed temples and temple gates and of the up and down of the spheres of worlds and gods, as they swell into a scintillating wealth of forms. The arch-Indian form of the fig tree, with its sap circulating up and down in its dome of aerial roots, has been raised from a pre-Aryan past to being the cosmic symbol of Brahmanical vision. As soon as the latter broke away from the narrowness of self-sufficient priestly tradition of the Vedas, it seized the heritage of the former inhabitants with as much hesitation as avidity, in order to coin it afresh for its own use and for all the others. The *Kāthaka Upanisad* speaks of the Indian fig tree as symbol of the unfolded universe ; as such it is tangibly represented in the architectural plastic of the temple sculptures : "with roots upwards, with branches downwards is this eternal Fig tree ; the seed, the 'brahman', the sap verily it is called of the deathless immortal, in it rest all the worlds. There is none who goes beyond this."—The world as tree, and the temple its image. This

world tree encloses all the world spheres circling upwards and downwards, and in its apex is the supra-mundane source of all unfoldment ; the Veda verse says of this tree : "In which all the birds eat sweet fruit, nest and hatch,—in the top of this tree, so they say, is the sweet berry"—the fruit of the knowledge of God and the Self which bestows deathlessness and god-likeness,—"none attains it who does not know the father."

Like the wish-fulfilling god-trees of a remote past near to God, the boon-bestowing houses of god, the temples built of stone, and carved out of the rock,—plastic images of the world body rich with spheres,—tower to this day over the faithful Hindu's huts related to them from their origins.

Transl.



BRAHMANICAL IMAGES IN MATHURĀ

By VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

The rich and famous school of sculpture which flourished during the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods (cir. 1st century—6th century A. D.) at Mathurā has to its credit a considerable number of Brahmanical images, in addition to the vast and varied collections of Buddhist and Jaina sculptures which are well known. Belonging to the formative period of Indian art when the earliest images of gods and goddesses in all the above three religions were being evolved, these statues are of the utmost importance. We know that early examples of the Buddha image have been found at Mathurā, which according to Coomaraswamy was the place where the image of the Buddha originated¹, a conclusion in which there is much more substantial truth than is at first recognised.

The images of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras also for the first time appear on the Āyāgapattas discovered from the site of the Kaṅkāli Tīlā, and may belong to the beginning of the first century A. D.²

Like in Buddhist and Jaina statuary, the first iconographic forms of the Brahmanical gods and goddesses can also be traced in Mathurā. The fact that Mathurā artists were fashioning the deities of these three religions at one and the same time, must have had its own causes in the religious history of India of the early Kuṣāṇa period. It appears that Mathurā was the nucleus of powerful devotional movements in the religious thought of the Jains, the Buddhists and the Hindus. So far as Hinduism is concerned we know that the religious movement centring round Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa and his brother Balarāma originated at this ancient city. It is therefore natural

1. The Indian Origin of the Buddha image, J. A. O. S., Vol. 46, 1926.

2. The only exception, an earlier Jaina Tīrthaṅkara image, is the recently discovered image of the Maurya period from Banāpur, published by K. P. Jayaswal, J. B. O. R. S., March 1937, pp. 130-32.

B. P. Chanda, A. S. R., 1925-26, p. 160, 'The earliest known images of the Tīrthaṅkaras have been found at Mathurā'.

that the urge for shaping the gods in their human form should have been felt strongest at Mathurā.

For studying the origins of Brahmanical images we should concentrate on the earlier statues of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods. Their total number may be about five hundred. The following is the full list of the pantheon for these two epochs: I. Kuṣāṇa: 1. Brahmā. 2. Śiva. (a) Śiva in 'liṅga vigraha'. (b) Śiva in 'puruṣa vigraha'. (c) Śiva as Ardhanārīśvara. (d) Śiva with Pārvatī. 3. Kārttikeya. 4. Gaṇapati. 5. Viṣṇu. 6. Sūrya. 7. Indra-vajrapāṇi. 8. Kāmadeva. 9. Balarāma. 10. Sarasvatī. 11. Lakṣmī. 12. Durga Simhavāhinī. 13. Mahiṣāsūramardinī. 14. Sapta Mātṛkās. 15. Nāgarājñī.

II. Gupta period: All the above with the addition of the following: 16. Hari-Hara. 17. Rāvaṇa lifting Kailāsa. 18. Viṣṇu as Trivikrama. 19. Piṅgala. 20. Daṇḍa. 21. Navagrahas. 22. Gaṅgā. 23. Yamunā. 24. Āyudhapuruṣas.

Of this list only Sūrya, Śiva-liṅga and Gaja-Lakṣmī were known in the earlier art preceding the epoch of the great Mathurā school.

BRĀHMĀ. In the Brahmanical triad Brahmā comes first as the creator of the universe. The idea of Trinity consisting of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva seems to have been fully realised in the religious philosophy of the Kuṣāṇa age. Brahmā is shown as the deity with four faces (caturmukha). We have three Kuṣāṇa images of Brahmā in the Museum. The earliest image (393) shows the god with three faces and a haloed bust superimposed at the back of the central head to complete the number of four heads. On the reverse is carved an Aśoka tree similar to that in Nāgarājñī and Indra images (392) which also belong to the Kuṣāṇa period. The right hand of the projecting figure is held in 'abhaya mudrā' and the left shoulder is covered with drapery like in Buddha images of this period. Statuette No. 2134 shows an identical arrangement with the difference that the three lower faces have all beards and matted locks. Statuette No. 2481 shows only three heads, as the fact of the invisibility of the fourth one in a front view came to be gradually recognised. A halo is shown at the back of the head. Another feature of importance is the pot belly, which in the case of Brahmā persists throughout later art.

VIṢṆU. We get evidence of Viṣṇu worship in the Śuṅga period from the Besnagar pillar of Heliodorus and the Ghosundi inscription of Sakkarapa Vāsudeva. At Mathurā itself a listel of the time of Mahākṛtapa Śodāsa (1st century B. C.) mentions a shrine dedicated to Bhagavān Vāsudeva¹. But the earliest representation of Viṣṇu in human form is found in the Kuṣāṇa period, the Viṣṇu image appearing as almost a replica of the Bodhisattva image with two additional hands holding a long, heavy 'gada' and a 'cakra'. Image No. 2487 is typical and shows all these features clearly. The prominent necklaces of Viṣṇu is noteworthy as it is taken from the images of Indra (cf. 392). In some statuettes Viṣṇu wears the high 'kirta' of Indra which may be due to the fact that Viṣṇu as Upendra was looked upon as the younger brother of Indra.

It is strange that no early image depicting the life incidents of the cowherd deity Kṛṣṇa has come to light at Mathurā. An exception may be

1. Archaeology and Vaishnava Tradition, by Rama Prasad Chanda, A. S. M. 5.

deemed in the case of a relief (I344) of the Kuṣāṇa period bearing a scene which Daya Ram Sahni interpreted as one showing Vasudeva walking across the river Yamunā to transport the new-born Kṛṣṇa to Gokula for safe custody¹ (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1). I agree with this view and think that the relief is the earliest representation of a scene from Kṛṣṇa's life.

The Kuṣāṇa relief No. 2520 acquired from the collection of the late Pandit Radha Krishna, appears as a veritable document of Brahmanical iconography (Pl. XIV, Fig. 2). It shows the following four figures, all standing with right hands in 'abhaya-mudrā': 1. Two-armed Śiva in 'ardhanārīśvara-mūrti', with the right half bearing male and the left half female features, viz. breast, extended hip, long dhoti, and a bracelet round the foot. Śiva is shown 'ardhvarata', which is of unique importance for the study of the early phases of Mathurā Śaivism. 2. Four-armed Viṣṇu, holding a heavy mace and a 'cakra' in the two additional hands. The two normal hands are exactly like those in the Bodhisattva images, i.e. the right in 'abhaya-mudrā' and the left holding a monk's bottle of long neck and conical bottom. Of all the Viṣṇu images found in India, this may be said to be the earliest specimen, and may be assigned to the 1st century A. D. It shows the transition from a Buddhist to a Brahmanical image. 3. Two-armed female figure holding a lotus in her left hand as in the Hārītī images of the Kuṣāṇa period. Above the canopied head the sculptor has shown a pair of miniature elephants in order to distinguish Gaḇa-Lakṣmī from Hārītī. This Gaḇa-Lakṣmī type is distinct from the well-known Gaḇa Lakṣmī rising in the midst of lotuses,² of the Śuṅga period found at Sāñcī, Bodhgayā, Kosam and Anantagumphā, etc. The stamp of a Kuṣāṇa period Hārītī is obvious in her form and composition. 4. Two-armed male figure holding a purse in the left hand and a mace-like staff under the left armpit. It depicts Kuvera without his usual corpulence. We also have one Gapeśa statuette without this feature which is otherwise almost universal in both cases (No. 1112). These details make the above relief of unique importance for a knowledge of the earliest features in the iconography of these divinities.

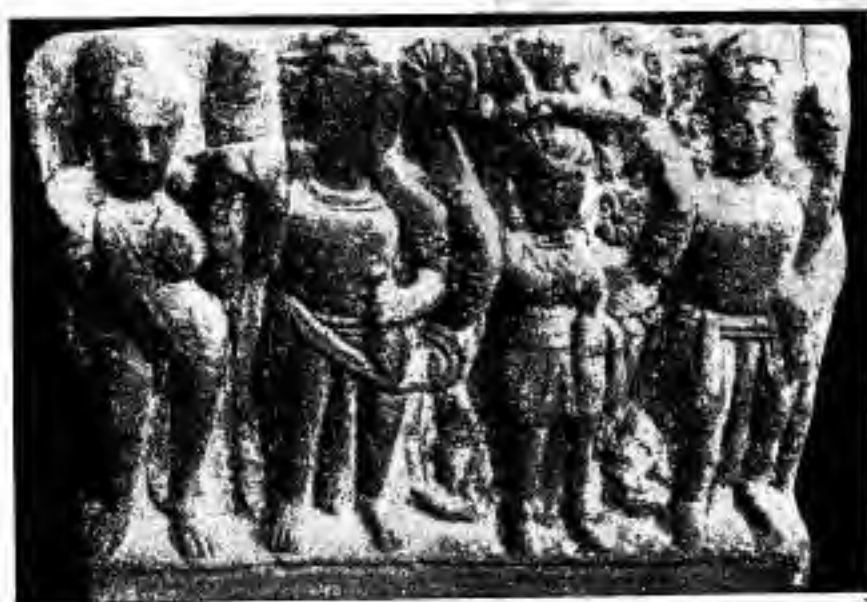
A fragmentary statuette of the Kuṣāṇa period (1010) showing an eight handed male figure is of exceptional interest (Pl. XIV, Fig. 3). Of the four right hands which are preserved, three seem to carry the mount Govardhana, 'pāśa' (or śakti), and 'daṇḍa' and the fourth one doubled at the elbow is stretched towards the breast and also held an indistinct object. This represents the Virāṭa form of Viṣṇu and is the only male figure of the Kuṣāṇa period in which such multiplicity of hands is visible.

With the advent of the Gupta period Viṣṇu worship received a fresh impetus and images became much more common. There were Viṣṇu temples at Kañkollī (114) (image in the Lucknow Museum, H. 111), Jamālpur (G. 7, Viṣṇu torso), Gāyatrī (113) (1342, colossal Viṣṇu-bust), etc. There is also ample evidence to show that a magnificent Brahmanical temple dedicated to Viṣṇu was built at the site of Kātrā Keśava-deva³ by the emperor Candragupta II, whose inscription was also unearthed from this place. Architectural and sculptural pieces which formed part of this building were recovered in excavations and are kept in the Museum. One piece shows Viṣṇu in his Trivikrama incarnation (2664) with the left leg stretched aloft. Dancing and adoring Jāmbavān, the demon head typifying Brahmapada and kneeling Pṛthvī Devī are shown. Viṣṇu wears the 'rajjayanti' and 'ekavālī' necklaces. The panel is surmounted by a dwarf Gupta railing and was enclosed between two pilasters.

1. A. S. R., 1925-26, pp. 183-84.

2. Sāñcī, north torapa of stūpa I, fig. 53 in H. I. I. A.; Bodhgayā, C. H. I. Vol. I, fig. 50; Kosam, Annual Bibliography, 1964, fig. d, pl. II; Anantagumphā, C. H. I. Vol. I, fig. 73. Cf. also Coomaraswamy's article Śrī-Lakṣmī, Eastern Art, January 1929.

3. Kātrā-Keśava-deva, the Birth-place of Kṛṣṇa, by V. S. Agrawala, Gītā Dharma, Benares, Vol. I, pp. 666-76.



A perfect example of a Gupta Viṣṇu is E. 6 of Vogel's Catalogue¹. It shows all the highest qualities of the Golden Age, the face revealing the contemplative serenity of celestial samādhi. The elaborate crown is adorned with the jewel (forming a 'triratna' shape with its scroll), lion-faces emitting pearl festoons 'śaṅkṣayodgīrṣa mauktika-jāla' and a 'makarika' ornament consisting of two addorsed alligator heads. The figure wears a 'vajrayanti, yajñīya suvarṇa-sūtra, keyūra, akāvalī' and 'śatayaṣṭika demachanda' necklaces, and also a creased clinging loincloth (vāḥṣma vimala kaṭi-vastra) held by a girdle technically known as 'netra-sūtra' in contemporary literature on account of its similarity with the cord round the 'manthana dāṇḍa'². The image was four-armed. The fore-arms separated near the elbow, the bifurcating line being still visible on the left side.

Another important image of Viṣṇu (2325) resembles the above in its artistic decoration but shows the god with a Nṛsiṃha face on the right and a Varāha face on the left. Coomaraswamy published the bust of a Nṛsiṃha-Varāha Viṣṇu from Mathurā (now in the Boston Museum), which is almost like our figure. He says "The figure exhibits the broad shoulders and slender "lion" waist of the Indian ideal type, with the firmness and fullness of flesh and massive modelling characteristic of the Gupta period; it is an important document equally of art and iconography"³. This Viśvarūpī Viṣṇu presents a combination of Varāha and Nṛsiṃha avatāras. The Museum also has a terra-cotta panel (2419) showing a similar four-armed Viṣṇu, two of whose arms now broken must have held the symbols 'padma' and 'śaṅkha' in their natural form, and two others were placed on the heads of dwarfish 'cakṛa' (male) and 'gadhā' (female) 'ayudha puruṣas' squatting in 'utkuṭikāsana'. Kālidāsa, *Raghu*, 10, 60 mentions the dwarfish statues of the Vaiṣṇava 'ayudha puruṣas' in the Gupta period. The representation of the symbols both in their natural and personified forms and also the placing of the right leg a little in front of the left, suggest affinities of this image with the Para-Vāsudeva form mentioned in Hindu Iconography⁴.

Balarāma. Patañjali refers to Balarāma in his *Mahābhāṣya* (Kielhorn, Vol. I. p. 426.) "let the power of Kṛṣṇa increase with the assistance of Saṃkarṣaṇa". Saṃkarṣaṇa is the name of Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, who is said to have changed the course of the Yamunā near Mathurā by his ploughshare. The legend must have been popular in the days of the Bhāṣyakāra in the 2nd century B. C. Again in a quotation given by Patañjali mention is also made of temples dedicated to Kuvera (Bala) Rāma and Keśava (Kṛṣṇa) : प्रसादे धनपतिरामकेशवानाम् (ibid. Vol. I. p. 426).

It is not surprising that an image which must have once adorned such a temple, was actually found by the late Pt. Radha Krishna in 1929 from the village named Junsuti, six miles off Mathurā on the road to Govardhana. It was sold to the Lucknow Museum and is now kept there. It is published here from photos found in the record of the late Panditji

1. Cf. St. Kramvisch, *Die figurale Plastik der Gupta Zeit*, p. 22, fig. 5; *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Asiens*, vol. V, 1931.

2. This 'netra-sūtra' cord used in churning is still known as 'neti' in the Hindi speech of North India.

3. Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Dec. 1919, No. 104, pp. 60-62, Gupta torso of Viṣṇu.

4. T. Gopinath Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pp. 242-43.

(Pl. XIV, Fig. 4). The back entry gives its ht. 2'-6". Balarāma is standing with a canopy of six serpent hoods and holds the 'musala' in his right hand and the 'hala' in his left, both the 'āyudhas' resting against his shoulders. He wears a very conspicuous turban, heavy earrings in cloven ears, a torque with single cylindrical bead and double wristlets. The upper body is nude and the lower is draped in a dhoti, its creased arrangement, triangular fold and the girdle being exactly similar to those on the ancient Yakṣa statues of the Śuṅga period. The image can not be later than the second century B. C., and must be regarded as the earliest representation of any Brahmanical deity in the whole field of Hindu iconography. Its importance therefore cannot be exaggerated for throwing light on the most controversial question of the origins of iconographic art in India. The Bankipur Tirthaṅkara image of the Maurya period and the Mathurā Balarāma image of the Śuṅga period together prove that the religious tradition of the land had allowed the shaping of the principal deities in human form for purposes of worship much earlier than is often conceived by archaeologists in relation to the question of the origin of the Buddha image.

Śiva. The god Śiva is known to us in an earliest form from the Guḍimallam liṅga of the Śuṅga period. The Bhiṭā Śiva liṅga of the 'pañca-mukha' type comes next in order. After that we get the representation of Śiva both in liṅga and 'puruṣa' form at Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa period. Śiva worship at this time must have been extremely popular in the religious life of this city. D. R. Bhandarkar editing the Mathurā Śaiva inscription of the time of Candragupta II, showed that a powerful branch of the Pāsupata Śaivas adhering to the tenets of the teacher Lakulī was established at Mathurā by one of his four disciples, Kuśika, in the beginning of the 2nd century A. D.¹ This pillar also shows the representation of god Lakulīśa, a form of Śiva holding a 'daṇḍa' and his trident. We also find Śiva standing against his Nandī bull on the reverse of the coins of Kuṣāṇa emperors, and a well-known coin of Vāsudeva shows the polyccephalic god Oesho who can be no other than Pañcānana Śiva or Īśa. The heroic Vema takes pride in calling himself a Maheśvara in the legend of his Śaiva coins. How devoutly the alien Kuṣāṇa chiefs paid homage to the great god is vividly depicted on a recently acquired bas-relief (2661)

1. Ep. Indica, Jan. 1931, p. 5.

which shows a *liṅga* installed on a pedestal and two Kuṣāṇa noblemen in the attitude of worshipping it with garlands and flowers (JISOA, vol. IV, Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1). It also contains a flying 'dēva' performing 'puṣpa-vṛṣṭi' as in Buddhist images. A relief slab of the Kuṣāṇa period showing Śiva and Pārvatī standing as a typical 'dāmpatī' gives us the earliest human form of Śiva different from a Yakṣa (G. 52). But for the 'ūrdhvareta' so prominently shown in the case of Śiva, we would take it as a common 'mithuna' relief.¹ Śiva is two armed, there is no bull or any symbol except that the right hand is in 'abhaya mudrā'. Śiva wears earrings, torque and scarf and there are no 'jaṭās'. This scene becomes very much transformed, though retaining its essential features, in the Gupta period as evinced by the Siva-Pārvatī and Nandī relief (2084) carved on both sides. Both Śiva and Pārvatī hold a 'nīlotpala' that is symbolical of their married life.

One of the most unique Śiva images from Mathurā is illustrated by Coomaraswamy in his History of Indian and Indonesian Art (Fig. 68). It shows the four-armed 'ūrdhvareta' Śiva carved in high relief against a *liṅga* in the same manner as the Guḍimallam Śiva². The Gupta sculptors of Mathurā also made Ekamukhī Siva *liṅgas* of the Bhumara and Khoḥ type. We find them installed in several places in the city, still in worship³ (cf. also Museum collection, 2312). We have also specimens of two-faced (462) and five faced⁴ (516) Śiva *liṅgas* of the Gupta period. Most probably the five heads have reference to the Īśāṇa, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, Vāmadeva and Sadyojāta forms of Śiva. Of the 'līlās' of Śiva not one has been traced in Kuṣāṇa art. The Gupta sculptures, however show a representation of the famous scene of Rāvaṇa lifting the mount Kailāsa on which Siva and Pārvatī are seated (2577; Pl. XV, Fig. 1). Iconographically as well as artistically this piece is of great importance. It is full of lively commotion

1. For an image of Śiva-Pārvatī from Kosam, showing ūrdhvaliṅga Śiva holding the right hand in abhaya and an amṛta ghaṭa in the left, see A.-S. R. 1913-14, part II, plate LXXC. It is inscribed and belongs to the Gupta period. (Fleet, G. I. I, p. 203).

2. I found a photo of this from the collection of the late Pt. Radha Krishna giving in the back entry its ht. 2'-5", but the present whereabouts of the image are unknown. It may be in some European private or museum collection.

3. A Note on a Gupta Śiva Liṅga at Mathurā, V. S. Agrawala, J. U. P. H. Society, July 1935, pp. 83-85.

4. For illustration, see my article in Hindi on the Brahmanical Sculptures in the Mathurā Museum, fig. 19, Journal of the Hindustani Academy, Jan. 1937.

resulting from the unprecedented upheaval. The giant king with protruding eyes is exerting his full vigour to summon all the resources of his great might. The wavy lines and the reticulated breaks in the ridges of Kailāsa express the strain to which it was put reminding us of the famous and almost contemporary description in the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa (158), viz. *चैटाग्रस्य.....दशमुखभुजोच्छ्रासित प्रस्थसंघेः*. The eminences of the peak as well as the ridges appear like dense masses of clouds layered one upon another. Pārvatī sits to the right of Śiva, and her left hand finds support on the right shoulder of her lord, who is bracing up at a time when the great oscillation must have convulsed all nature.

The Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva (362; Pl. XV, Fig. 2) though known in Kuṣāṇa times (cf. Pl. XIV, Fig. 2) was handled by the Gupta artists with an unexcelled perfection. It illustrates those elements that are present in two cosmic forces which are irresistibly drawn towards each other to embrace and fuse themselves, but are held back to preserve their entities by an invisible axis.

Sūrya. Images of Sūrya of the ancient Indian type seated on a chariot of four horses are known from the art of Bodhgayā (Fig. 61, H. I. I. A), Bhājā (Fig. 24, H. I. I. A), and Anantagumphā,¹ where Chāyā and Sañjā also occur. The Mathurā examples of the Kuṣāṇa period, however, are different. They are shown squatting in European fashion, wearing the Northern dress (*udīcya veśa*) consisting of a coat, trousers and padded boots, and holding a dagger in the left hand between the legs and a lotus cluster in the right. The chariot is drawn by two horses (894).²

The number of horses later on is increased to four (cf. Sūrya image D. 46, in which the solar orb is also shown), and subsequently to seven. We have an interesting variety of Sūrya images in the Gupta art of Mathurā, showing Sūrya dressed like a Sassanian king. One soapstone statuette (1258; Pl. XV, Fig. 3) in which the two acolytes Piṅgala and Daṇḍa also occur, has a beard and a round apron style tunic fringed with pearls like the solar image from Khair Khanah discovered by Hackin, by which it appears to have been inspired. Its age should coincide with the

1. Hackin's *Memoir on the Researches at Khair Khanah near Kabul*, p. 15, footnote. See also *Ancient Monuments in Bihar and Orissa*, by M. H. Kuraishi, p. 273.

2. A bigger example is illustrated in Vogel's *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, plate XXXIIIb, and Coomaraswamy's H. I. I. A., fig. 64, where it is identified as Kuṣāṇa king.



reigns of Shapur II and his successors Ardashir II and Shapur III, i. e., between 309 and 386¹ A. D. Another bust in the Mathurā Museum representing the Sun god (D. 1 of Dr. Vogels Catalogue) is even more marked by Sassanian influences, bearing the 'sun and moon' (candra-divākara) symbol on the 'kulah' cap. He has frizzled bushy hair as in Gupta figures, a bearded chin (śmaśrula mukha) of the honey-comb design (cf. 'saraghā-vyāpta kṣaudrapaṭala', Raghuvamśa, IV. 63), knotted scarf and pinafore like cuirass (PL XV, Fig. 4).

Though the two solar attendants occur on the Khair Khaneh relief, Mathurā is the only place where independent images of Piṅgala and Daṇḍa of the Gupta period have been found. Pot-bellied Piṅgala (513) has a halo and is holding a pen in the right hand and an inkpot in the left. His hair is bushy and on the 'kulah' cap occurs the globule and crescent sign. A Gupta relief from Kaman shows the eight Grahas, Ketu being left out. Except Sūrya, the other six wear 'jaṭā jūṭa' and Rāhu is in 'tarpaṇa mudrā.' This agrees with Mahābhārata, Sabhā Parva, ch. 11, verses 28-29, which mention only eight Grahas attending the audience-hall of Brahmā (pitāmaha-sabhā).

Kārttikeya. The figure of Kārttikeya with his name inscribed occurs on one series of the Yaudhaya coins about the second century A. D.² Of about the same period is a statuette in the Mathurā Museum (2332) showing the standing figure of haloed Kārttikeya holding a spear in the right hand and a cock in the left.³

A singular image of the Gupta period in the Mathurā Museum (466) shows Skanda seated on his peacock (cf. mayūra-prṣṭhāśrayiṇā gubhena, Raghu. VI. 4) with an important iconographic feature, viz. the performance of his 'abhiṣeka' by four-faced Brahmā on the right and Śiva on the left side holding jars, both wearing matted locks.

Ganeśa. A Mathurā frieze of the Kuṣāṇa period (2325) shows a row of five elephant-headed Ganas very similar to the Amarāvati relief depicting the same figure⁴ (about 2nd cent. A. D.). Of about the same

1. Recherches Archéologiques au Col de Khair Khaneh près de Kaboul, by J. Hackin p. 13.

2. J. E. O. R. S. 1936, p. 61.

3. A very similar Kārttikeya image with spear and cock was recently found at Taxila. See A. S. R. 1934-35, p. 31, plate VIII (f) where it is doubtfully identified with Kuvera.

4. Coomaraswamy, Yakṣas, part I, plate 23, fig. 1, p. 23.

period is a statuette (758) in which elephant-headed Gaṇeśa appears as an ithyphallic nude figure with pot-belly and 'nāga yajñopavīta.' He is two armed and is tasting the sweet balls out of the cup in his left hand. These are the earliest Gaṇapati figures so far known.

Miscellaneous gods : Vajrapāṇi. A torso (E. 24) shows the god Vajrapāṇi holding a double thunderbolt. He wears heavy ear-rings, torque and flat triangular necklace like Bodhisattva images. But the feature that shows the Brahmanical nature of the image is the conspicuous 'vanamālā' arranged on the left side which justifies his identification with Vajrapāṇi Indra of Hindu mythology (cf. Kālidāsa Raghuv. IV. 42). The 'vajrayāntī' is the principal distinctive feature of the Brahmanical gods employed by the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta sculptors.

Kāmadeva. A beautiful terra-cotta (2552) of about the first century A. D. shows the god Kāmadeva standing in a flowery field with a sheaf of arrows in the right hand and a long sugar-cane bow (ikṣu-dhanus) in the left hand. He is standing upon the chest of a young man who is in a suppliant attitude. I am indebted to Dr. Johnston (letter dated Oxford, 8th Dec. 1936) for identifying the scene with an old legend about Kāmadeva in which the leading persons are the fisherman Śūrpaka and the princess Kumudvatī. The details are uncertain, but apparently Kumudvatī fell in love with Śūrpaka, who did not return her love, till he was conquered by Kāmadeva. Aśvaghoṣa refers to the legend in his 'kāvyas', viz. Buddhacarita, XIII, 11 and Saundarānanda, VIII, 44, which as may be inferred must have been very popular in his days.

IS ANGKOR-VAT A TEMPLE OR A TOMB ?

By J. PRZYLUŚKI

The principles which rule the orientation of the Indian rites have been brought out by W. Caland in a work that A. Barth described in the following terms¹: "It is impossible to find anything more clever and at the same time more cautious, more circumspect and more documented than the discussion where M. Caland brings back to a small number of fundamental notions (the orient, abode of the gods; dualism of the rites which are performed in opposite directions when they are dedicated to the gods or to the evil powers and to the manes, which, originally at least, was the same thing: to the right, with the right arm, hand and knee in the first case; to the left, with the left arm, hand and knee in the last case) religious, magical and even profane customs diversified to the utmost. These customs he examines first among the Hindus, which gives him an opportunity to state and to solve quite a number of little problems: why is the North, unlike all the other points of the compass, never named according to direction, and never called "the left"?—Because the left is sinister, and the North a sacred region also. Why is the abode of the manes at the South or South-East instead of opposite the abode of the gods, at the West or South-West?—Because the manes are no longer positively evil powers, and have come, in a way, nearer to the gods. Why, in the rites which address the gods, is the sacred string worn passed over the left shoulder and under the right armpit, and passed contrariwise in the funeral rites?—Because the string is just the substitute, the image of the robe which was formerly worn in that way to allow the liberty of the right arm in the offering to the gods, or of the left arm in the offering to the

1. Caland, 'Een indogermaansch Lustratie-Gebruik,' in the *Verslagen en Mededeelingen* of the Amsterdam Academy, section of Letters, IVth series, T. II, p. 275. Cf. A. Barth, *Bulletin* of 1899-1902, in *RHR*, t. XL, p. 40 & fol.

manes. The same ideas have determined and ruled the symbolism of the marches, of the turns, of the circular evolutions to the right and to the left which go with the rites, including the best known of these evolutions, the *pradakṣiṇa*...which has received in practice such diverse applications, like charms, lustrations, act of blessing and of good omen, of homage or of mere respect. True, M. Caland does not deny that for the '*pradakṣiṇa*,' and for its contrary the '*prasavya*,' the solar symbolism may have been added sometimes to the ritual symbolism¹."

I have in view to show that these principles must not be lost sight of in the study of the monuments built in Indo-China under the influence of Indian civilization.

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In his first work on "*Les bas-reliefs d' Angkor-Vat*" M. Coedès has wondered in which way one had to follow the galleries in order to understand the succession of the relievos. "West and East, he says, these relievos are pictures, each one composed of two parts arranged symmetrically : the observer can follow the action indifferently in a direction or the other, and the best thing would be to take in the whole sculpture at one glance. North and South, the sculptors have shown marches, or the successive turns of mythological fights ; now, the beginning of the scene is always at the left and one must, in order to understand it well, follow the gallery in a parallel direction with the personages and be careful to keep always the monument to one's left. Two things equally contrary to rule, unless these scenes have been primitively meant to be seen from a sufficient distance as to be gathered at one glance, and read in the way of a text. However, the order and the direction according to which the sculptures must be seen seem absolutely indifferent now."

When I took up the study of the problem in a series of lectures given at the Collège de France in 1921, I developed the following thesis : Angkor-Vat stands outside the enclosure of Angkor-Thom, 1 kilometer away in the direction of the South-East. This situation, outside the royal city and to the South of it, is difficult to explain, if one admits with M. Coedès, that

1. Auguste Barth, 'Oeuvres', T. II, Bulletin des Religions de l'Inde, (1889-1902) Paris, Leroux, 1914, p. 261.

2. Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indochine, 1911, fasc. 2, p. 173.

the monument "was originally a temple sacred to Viṣṇu"¹. It is justified, on the contrary, if the monument has been the tomb of king Sūryavarman II.

Besides, if the carved stone panels which cover the galleries were meant to be seen, their starting point must be sought in the vicinity of one of the entrances. To put it plainly, the question is to know by which door the visitors were admitted.

The East and West fronts each have three entrances in the centre. The East doors must not have been used as no stairs lead to them. The main entrance is on the West and, on this side, the triple doors are so built that one could get to them on an elephant. This was the entrance of honour, and most probably it was reserved for the royal procession. The ordinary visitors, who were allowed to turn round the monument, must then have been admitted either by the unique door of the North or South fronts, or by one of the entrances which exist at every corner of the monument. Right of the door on the South face there is a sculpture which shows the judgment of the dead, and then the series of heavens and of infernal regions. This picture was a suitable preparation to the visit of a dead king's resting place². Let us suppose then that the visit had its starting point to the right of the South door. As soon as one admits this conjecture the decoration becomes clear and appears subordinate to a directive idea; the pictures are linked together and their succession is regulated by an order which no former archaeologist had seen before. In fact, one finds, after the series of the heavens and infernal regions, the churning of the Ocean, then the fight between the Deva and the Asura, the defeat of Bāṇa and a number of similar fights between the gods and the devils; further on, the scene is carried into the human world with the two great battles of Laṅkā and Kurukṣetra, taken the one out of the Rāmāyaṇa and the other out of the Mahābhārata; in the end one reaches the South gallery where the armies of Sūryavarman II march along. Thus, the relievos succeed each other in the chronological order as it

1. Ibid. 1911, fasc. 2, p. 220. "It is highly probable that the worship of the god, M. Coedès goes on, must have been associated there with that of Paramaviṣṇuśloka, divine shape of a dead king".

2. In the same course of ideas, note that a picture of the Wheel of Life was painted in the anteroom of the Buddhist monasteries and that an image of the infernal torments can be seen at the door of some Chinese pagodas.

appeared to the reader of the *Purāṇa* and of the epic poems : after an introductory picture showing the judgment of the dead, the visitor found the creation (churning of the sea), the mythical fights between the gods and the devils, the great battles of the legend, and all this ended with king *Sūryavarman II*, that is to say, with the contemporary period. The decorators of Angkor-Vat have pictured, for the instruction and the edification of the observers, an epitome of the events which have followed, from the origin of the world to the construction of the monument : creation, myth, legend and history. It does not seem possible to say any longer, with M. Coedès, that the order and the direction according to which the sculptures must be seen are "absolutely indifferent." The carved stone panels follow each other in the order of the 'prasavya', and this movement, as well as the situation of the monument, south of the royal city and out of its bounds, involves a funeral destination. Angkor-Vat could not have been, originally, "a temple sacred to Viṣṇu"; it was king *Sūryavarman II*'s tomb or *Paramaviṣṇuloka*'s, as he was called by his posthumous name.

It can be objected that king *Paramaviṣṇuloka*, to whom Angkor-Vat was sacred, having been deified, his tomb therefore can be looked upon as a temple. This objection is easily rejected. To be exact, terminology must not translate our own conceptions but those of the constructors and visitors of the monument. Before one decides between the words "temple" and "tomb," the question must be asked whether the rites which took place there were offered to the remains of a mortal or to the relics of a god. In the former case, 'prasavya'; in the latter, 'pradakṣiṇa'. If the sculptures are arranged in such a way that the visitor when he follows them accomplishes a 'prasavya', the word "temple" should not be adopted. Even if the public have taken, after the archaeologists, to the habit of saying the "temple of Angkor-Vat," this denomination does not express the primitive destination of the monument.

Our conclusion is reinforced, moreover, by a remark which was made by an ancient observer :

"In 1295, a Chinese embassy sent to Cambodia by emperor Tch'entsong, of the Yuan, came to the walls of Angkor-Vat. Among the messengers was a certain Tcheou Ta-kouan, a very eager and attentive traveller, who left us a remarkable description of the capital. He must have seen

the temple of Viṣṇuloka, but from the outside only, for his description of it is very strange :

"Going out by the South doors, one finds at half-a-Li from the city, the stone tower which Lou Pan erected overnight, they say. Lou Pan's tomb stands half-a-Li or so away from the South doors, and is perhaps 10 Li wide. There are several hundreds of small stone houses.

"The circumference of 'Lou Pan's Tomb', (10 Li = 4/5 kilometers) is very nearly that of Angkor-Vat ; the direction is correct ; the distance between it and the South doors only, is too short by half, but this detail is without any importance because a monument of the same dimensions has never existed at the spot indicated by the relation. There is no doubt possible, that what Tcheou Ta-kouan calls "Lou Pan's Tomb" must be Angkor-Vat.

"Why does he call it by this strange name ? Lou Pan is, in China, the god of the carpenters : he corresponds to Viśvakarman of the Hindus, which has become Viṣṇukarman in Cambodia, and in popular language Brah Bisnukar : it is to him that tradition ascribed the construction of Angkor-Vat. Besides, this monument was the temple, and perhaps also the tomb of Paramaviṣṇuloka, in vulgar language, Brah Bisnulok. It was easy to mix up the king with the architect, Bisnulok and Bisnukar. And this is what Tcheou Ta-kouan's informant did, who presented the tomb of Bisnulok as that of Bisnukar, translated by the Chinese into its equivalent, Lou Pan¹."

The above observations give in brief what I said in an article published in 1933². M. Coedès answered as follows³ :

"It is the direction only by which the visitor must, according to him, follow the sculptures, which has led M. Przyluski to see in Angkor-Vat, not a temple where the cult of a god or of a dead king deified would have been celebrated, but a tomb containing the mortal remains of the king, a sepulchre where rites exclusively funeral would have taken place.

"This theory leads M. Przyluski to an immediate difficulty...He supposes that "the visit began on the right of the South door". Understand : the pilgrims' visit, because M. Przyluski has to admit that the "entrance of honour" on the West front, that which gives access to the beautiful cross galleries, must have been of some use whatever. "It was probably reserved, says he, for the royal procession⁴." So here would be a monument, the entrance of which permitting a rational and a didactic view of the sculptures

1. *Le Temple d' Angkor Vat*, 1st part, Foreword by G. Coedès, p. 12-13.

2. 'Pradaksina et Prasavya en Indo-Chine' in 'Festschrift Winternitz,' p. 326-332.

3. 'Angkor Vat, Temple ou Tombeau ?' BEFEO, 1933, fasc. 1, p. 303-309.

4. I mean here the procession which carried the king's remains to his tomb. J. P.

would have been reserved for the 'vulgum pecus' when the royal procession, less favoured, would have been obliged to begin with the scene last but one: the battle of Kurukṣetra.

"I have conscientiously endeavoured to solve this difficulty, and looked over the funeral rites of kings of modern Cambodia and Siam, often conservative, with the scope of finding something to justify,—either the hypothesis of a primacy given to the South entrance,—or the supposition by which the king, instead of doing the circumambulation, would have reached the sanctuary immediately by the West entrance whilst the people got to it after they had accomplished the 'prasavya', by the South. I have found nothing of the kind. At Bangkok as well as at Phnom Peñ, the king himself, at the royal or princely incinerations, accomplishes the triple 'prasavya'. At Phnom Peñ, the Men is open to the East, the royal pavilion stands to the South, the urn of gold enters by the East door and is hoisted upon the funeral pile by the East front, the king goes up to salute it by the steps on the East, the princes by the South, the people by the North, the women by the West stairs.¹ At Bangkok, the Men is open to the West, the king's pavilion stands to the West, the urn of gold enters the enclosure by the North door and is hoisted upon the funeral pile by the East front. The king goes up to salute it by the West steps, the princes and dignitaries by the North, the women by the south stairs.² The only common detail between the two rituals is the access to the funeral pile of the urn by the East. The South door of the enclosure plays no part at all: at Phnom Peñ, the triple 'prasavya' begins from the East, at Bangkok it starts from the North. The first difficulty raised by M. Przyluski's theory remains whole.

"Here is a second one. If it be true that "the pictures are linked together and their succession is regulated by an order which no former archaeologist has seen before", it is hard to understand why the pavilion on the North-West corner—which a visitor who does the 'prasavya' visits before he gets to the battle of the Rāmāyana—contains some scenes of the poem which are subsequent to this battle (Sītā's ordeal, return to Ayodhya), whilst the South-West pavilion—which the same visitor goes through after he has seen the battle of Lakṣa (and that of the Kurukṣetra)—show some scenes of the Rāmāyana which precede the fight (Rāma kills Mārīca, death of Vālin)...

"The difficulties which one meets as soon as one tries to interpret the relieves according to the 'pradakṣiṇā' or the 'prasavya' lie perhaps at first in a fundamental misinterpretation. It is usual to ascribe to the great royal creations of ancient Cambodia, by analogy with our own places of worship and even with the modern Buddhist pagodas, an utilitarian scope which they may never have been given. To study the sculptures, to which a didactic value is lent gratuitously, one adopts the point of view—absolutely wrong according to me—of a hypothetical visitor, of a pilgrim whose existence one supposes before the question is answered or even proposed whether he would have had access to the monuments. One must own that if he really was admitted into them, the builders have taken very little care to prepare him by walks well conceived for their object. The walk in the Angkor-Vat galleries, interrupted at every corner and at the axial entrances by rooms and anterooms separated by a number of high thresholds which must be stepped over at the cost of positive gymnastics, gives the impression of a succession of 'citraśālā' rather than that of a 'pradakṣiṇāpatha'...

"Angkor-Vat is a mountain, a Meru with five tops. The big central sanctuary which towers above all the rest, and which was primitively open to the four points of the compass, must undoubtedly have contained a statue, the pedestal of which is still in its place. As to its architectural design Angkor-Vat differs in its dimensions, and in the extension given to its galleries only, from the many Khmer temples (Bakhaḥ, Ta Kev, Mébon, Prè Rup, Baphuon, etc.) the central part of which is made of five towers in quincunx rising out of a pyramid, and about which we know that most generally they were temples sacred, like Angkor-Vat, to deified personages. As a starting-point for researches about the primitive destination

1. A. Leclerc. 'La Crémation et les rites funéraires au Cambodge,' pp. 141-145. Cf. BEFEO, XXVIII, pp. 642 and fol.

2. H. G. Q. Wales, loc. cit. pp. 151-153.

of Angkor-Vat, this observation forms a basis as solid as M. Przyluski's is fragile. Because what we have is not a certain way for the visit, involving funeral rites; it is a plan and a well-known architectural design, which are applied to a temple only. If one takes, as I do, the word "temple" in the sense, not of a place of public worship but of the abode of a god, to refuse this denomination to Angkor-Vat is properly to deny evidence.

"But when he called Angkor-Vat a "tomb," perhaps M. Przyluski has simply meant to say that the edifices contained the remains of the king? This I do not refuse to admit, on the condition that he grants me the presence, in the central tower, of an image of king Paramavajuloka under the aspect of the god Visnu. That this statue could have been animated and individualised by the presence, in the pedestal or elsewhere, of the king's remains does not seem unlikely to me.

"Going still further ahead to meet M. Przyluski, I declare to be willing to admit that the presence of bones and of ashes justifies the direction of the monument to the West, and even the rite of the 'prasavya' if 'prasavya' there has been (which I continue not to know). But I refuse to believe that Angkor-Vat could have been just a sepulchre, according to the type of Chinese sepulchres. Tomb, in the sense of dwelling place of the king after his death, be it so! but, for the very reason that a king when he dies "goes to heaven" (svargata), a dwelling built in the shape of a celestial palace, with, in its centre, the image of the god with whom the king has identified himself. As everything agrees to indicate that the author of the monument must have been the very king who was deified¹ or, according to M. Przyluski, ("buried") there, the fact that a posthumous palace where his image would stand, an object of worship, after his death, was built still during his lifetime, is infinitely more probable than the construction of a tomb.

"In the main, I believe that between M. Przyluski and myself, the discussion exists around the use of the words "temple" or "tomb" only, and I hope that the expression of "funeral temple" given by Dr. Bosch² shall win his agreement."

* * *

Let us resume the study of the problem, taking M. Coedès' observations into account. The Indian rituals bear the mark of a very ancient conception: the gods, and the abode of the gods, are opposed to the manes and to the abode of the manes. To this mythological and cosmological dualism corresponds a dualism of the rites which are done in opposite directions when they are offered to the gods or to the manes. Caland has observed that originally the manes were clearly opposed to the gods because they were evil powers, but that later on the manes have ceased to be powers positively evil, and have in a way come nearer to the gods. This evolution has become more and more marked in consequence to the progress of moral ideas: for one thing, the just after they die, go to the abode of the gods; and for another a number of mortals, (kings, or the just released alive) are looked upon as gods even before they die. Logically, this evolution ought to have involved the suppression of the ritual dualism, but logic is not always considered in the domain of religious

1. L. Finot, *Intr. to vol. I of 'Le Temple d'Angkor'*, p. 7; Bosch, *BEFEO*, t. 32, p. 19.

2. *Loc. cit.* p. 17-21.

ideas. In fact, rituals change more slowly than beliefs, and amongst all the former, the funeral rites are those which change the most slowly. If one tries to compare rites and beliefs, one must expect to meet with a number of contradictions.

Let us consider a deified king. His sepulchre must necessarily be given both the natures of a temple and of a tomb. But it is not indifferent to know which conception is the strongest and determines the character of the monument. Where Angkor-Vat is concerned, everybody agrees to-day to recognize in it the palace of a dead king. But the question is delicate to know whether this monument is rather a temple or a tomb. M. Coedès has suggested in the end to call it a "funeral temple". This expression offers the serious disadvantage of merely masking the difficulty which lies at the bottom of the discussion. It seems to me that when he tried to ruin my theory M. Coedès has brought in a number of facts which confirm it, and it is not useless perhaps to make the point clear. Here are, in brief, the principal arguments.

I have observed that the scenes which decorate the Angkor-Vat galleries are ordered according to a definite plan: the series begins with the South galleries, East wing, and is continued around the monument in the direction of the 'prasavya'. If this observation is correct, it must be admitted that the funeral destination dominates at Angkor-Vat, because if this monument had been conceived as a divine temple, the rites would have followed the direction of the 'pradakṣiṇa'. At the time when I exposed these views, Dr. Bosch had reached independently the same conclusions. According to him, the pictures begin in the East gallery, South wing, and the scenes follow each other in a series which turns round the monument in the direction of the 'prasavya.'

After having reported this theory, M. Coedès adds: "...so that it is the direction only by which the visitor must, according to him, follow the sculptures, which has led M. Przyluski to see in Angkor-Vat, not a temple where the cult of a god or of a dead king, deified, would have been celebrated, but a tomb containing the mortal remains of the king, a sepulchre where rites exclusively funeral would have taken place." This affirmation is not exact. It is not by the direction of the reliefs only that I have been induced to recognize a tomb in Angkor-Vat; other reasons are just as valuable in my eyes. First of all, there is the fact that Angkor-Vat stands

outside the enclosure of Angkor Thom, at a kilometer or so in the direction of the South-East : the South-East is the region of the dead, who must not dwell with the living. Moreover, I have brought forth the testimony of Tcheou Ta Kouan, the Chinese traveller, who places South from Angkor-Thom a monument which he names "the tomb of Lou Pan" and the circumference of which (10 'li' = $4\frac{1}{5}$ kilometers), is very nearly that of Angkor-Vat.

The new and instructive part of M. Coedès' note is that, where he does his best to prove that my thesis meets with serious difficulties : "The walk in the Angkor-Vat galleries, interrupted at every corner and at the axial entrance by rooms and anterooms separated by a number of high thresholds which must be stepped over at the cost of positive gymnastics, gives the impression of a succession of 'citraśālā' rather than that of a 'pradakṣiṇāpatha.'" The presence of high thresholds between the Angkor-Vat galleries was it really an obstacle to the 'prasavya' ? Many other rites, the great prostration for instance, seem painful to us and must be performed at the cost of "positive gymnastics". The efficacy of a rite may even depend upon the efforts which it requires. To follow the way of the Cross on one's knees is more difficult, and accordingly more deserving, than just to walk through it.

Even if they are not identical with the presumed ceremonial of Angkor-Vat, the modern facts are clearly inspired by similar conceptions. I have supposed that the royal procession, carrying the remains of the dead king, entered the monument by the main entrance of the East front, and that subsequently this entrance was forbidden and used no longer. Those who did the 'prasavya' had then to reach the galleries by a more modest entrance. This involves the fact that, according to their station, the visitors were allowed inside the monument through different doors, and the modern facts brought forth by M. Coedès derive precisely from a like principle : at Phnom Peñ as well as in Siam, the urn of gold enters by one side, when the princes are ushered in by another, and the ways of access are different for the princes, the women and the common people.

M. Coedès remarks, moreover, that the sculptures which decorate the corner pavilions form exceptions to the rule which I have put down as the explanation for the decoration of the galleries. I have never asserted that the decoration of the corner pavilions obeyed to this rule.

Those pavilions are evidently just outside additions. They may possibly have been decorated some time after the galleries, by artists who took liberties with the original plan. And even if the decoration of the pavilions was contemporaneous with the galleries, it is not a very serious fault to have chosen some episodes of the Rāmāyaṇa without taking into account their respective places in the poem.

* * *

In my article for the 'Festschrift Winternitz', I suggested that the current ideas about the Khmer kings' apotheosis should be reformed (p. 330 note 2). A step forward has been taken by M. Mus towards this end. In the 6th part, chap. V, of his 'Barabudur' this scholar has studied the votive statues in the Buddhist religion, and has shown that they served as links between the faithful and the Buddha. The origin of this link between man and the god, M. Mus places as far back as the 'brāhmaṇa'.

"The 'Śatapatha brāhmaṇa' prescribes that the measure unit, when the plan of the fire altar is established, be exactly the size of the sacrificer¹. Thus a Puruṣa is built which shall be at the same time the sacrificer and the God. Later on, when statues are carved in India, the identification in image of the worshipper with the God shall still be assured by means of the same kind: a statue shall be made the size of the giver, for instance, or with a weight in gold the same as his own weight. By the means of this secret byway, the two personalities shall be associated in the same thing. The Buddhist cults have made no exception to this rule, and Hiuan-tsang, for instance, has described sumptuous ceremonies consecrated by king Harṣa to the glorification of the Buddha, and where a gold statue of the Master figured, the size of the king.^{2,3}

Then M. Mus describes the great festivities of the alms which were celebrated every 5 years by king Harṣa by the side of the Ganges. This is how he comments on them:

"It is a rule universal in magic that the size, the name, the weight or the hair of a man are equivalent to his person. When, on a memorable occasion, Harṣa gave his own size to the statue of the Buddha, perhaps he gave himself away to the Buddha. That the gift of a weight equal to that of the giver's person (tulādāna)—what is being given, (corp., money, precious materials for a statue) is an actual substitute for this person,—has been well known in India in all periods.⁴...It is interesting to observe that the personal gift, under the shape of an interposed statue, can be found in ancient Greece too,

1. 'Śat. br.', SBE vol. LXI, p. 144, 3, etc.

2. 'Mémoires,' trsl. by Julien, I, p. 253; Beal, I, p. 218.

3. P. Mus, 'Barabudur,' II, 1, BEFEO 1935, p. 836.

4. 'Tulādāna' = 'puruṣa-dāna', gift of the person, says Monier-Williams, s. v.—cf. 'Cālavāṇa', I, p. 160, 181 etc.; Fryer, 'A New Account of East India and Persia', ed. Crooke, Hakluyt Soc., 1909, I, p. 206; III, p. 194; Harvey, 'Hist. of Burma,' p. 323; A. H. Longhurst, 'The Tulāpuruṣadāna monument at Hampi,' ASI, AR. 1912-13, p. 142-144 and Pl. LXXXIV, etc.

and, it seems, over an Aegean substratum. And there, again, it has come after more radical substitutions. "One of the most ancient offerings, remark MM. Gernet and Boulanger, is the offering of the hair: the very personality of the giver is adherent there to the consecrated thing, and that is why this offering can be considered occasionally as a substitution or a redemption. Likewise the individual consecrates himself, or is consecrated through the statue which represents him, and which can have the same weight as himself, more particularly when the consecration serves as a religious penance."...It is striking to compare those ancient Mediterranean conceptions with those which are proved by the dedication by Harṣa to the Buddha of a statue of his own size.¹

M. Mus concludes that in king Harṣa's case we are very far from just a simple apotheosis. And he adds that in many cases the Buddhist apotheosis may appear "like a gift of the person of the deified princes to the deity whose features they adopt, rather than like an actual deification".²

We believe that this conclusion holds good also for the apotheosis of the Khmer kings. For M. Coedès, who sticks to the theory which he exposed in 1911³, the king, in Cambodia, is looked upon as a god already during his lifetime, his statue is that of a god, and after his death his remains are those of a god. The place where those remains have been laid down is therefore conceived "as the representation of the world of Viṣṇu...in other words, as a celestial palace".⁴ These ideas are very simple and perfectly logical, but the reality seems more complex. The Khmer king, though he was of godly character, did not, for all that, cease to be a mortal. His statue partook of his double nature and the consecration of this statue marked the gift of the royal person to the god, rather than a positive deification. Moreover, the king's remains were carried to a tomb and, notwithstanding the contradiction between this practice and the divine character of royalty, one turned around those remains in the direction of the 'prasavya', which proves that the rite was accomplished for a dead man rather than for a god.

It must be noted, moreover, that the Khmer king and the god Viṣṇu are two distinct personages, as they bear different names. Viṣṇu is a god; Paramaviṣṇuloka is a dead king, and the latter name may possibly have meant: (1) the ensemble of those who have been to the Paramaviṣṇuloka;

1. P. Mus, "Barsbadur" II-1, BEFEO, 1935, p. 839-40.

2. Ibid. p. 641-642.

3. "L' Apotheose au Cambodge", BOAL, 1911.

4. BEFEO, 1933, I, p. 308.

(2) one whichever of those personages. But let it by no means be said that because the king had reached the superior regions, his tomb was necessarily a celestial dwelling. If a Christian goes to paradise after his death, his tomb is a tomb none the less, not a divine abode.

The present accepted ideas on Indo-Chinese and Indonesian archaeology are partly the consequence of the direction given to those studies by the work published by Prof. R. von Heine-Geldern, 'Weltbild und Bauform in Südostasien' in the Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst und Kultur Asiens, IV, 1930. The author observes, (p. 36), that in ancient Cambodia the temples were generally called *Giri*, "mountain" which is a clear indication of "their signification as symbols of a mountain and even, in the highest degree, as the symbols of the cosmic mountain" (ihre Bedeutung als Bergsymbole, in erster Linie wohl Weltbergsymbole). This theory has been adopted with enthusiasm; and to-day we are invited to recognize Mount Meru in the lesser temple or in the most insignificant stūpa. That a Cakravartin, or a king pretending to be one, should have an image of the Meru in his capital, seems perfectly admissible. But that at every step one should meet the mountain which is the axis of the world, is obviously an exaggeration.

M. Coedès's article on "Angkor-Vat, temple ou tombeau" ? offers a typical example of this : "Angkor-Vat, says M. Coedès, is a mountain, a Meru with 5 tops". M. Coedès admits of course that the reigning king possessed a Meru within the bounds of his capital. If Angkor-Vat was also a Meru, how could the presence of those two "central mountains" be justified ? How could it be admitted that the king deceased should have his own Meru, besides that of his successor ?

We believe that Angkor-Vat is a Meru no more than a celestial palace. An architectural type has prevailed and has been finally adopted universally for the royal dwellings, temple or palace, abode of a living or of deceased king. But even though all those edifices are built in the same style, certain features make it possible to know a tomb and to distinguish it from a temple. Angkor-Vat is away from the royal city because the dead must not dwell with the living. Angkor-Vat is at the South-East from Angkor Thom; the South-East is the region of the dead. The main entrance at Angkor-Vat, is on the West side, direction

of the setting sun ; if Angkor-Vat was a temple, the main entrance would be on the East side, in the direction of the rising sun¹. The succession of the sculptures in the Angkor-Vat galleries, follows the direction of the 'prasavya' ; if Angkor-Vat was a temple, this would be in the direction of the 'pradaksina'.

Quite recently M. Coedès has taken up the same question again. He has been so good as to impart to me a note in French, a few essential extracts of which I translate here and which is going to be published in the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology.

"It is a well-known fact that the pedestals of the idols venerated in the Khmer temples stood upon a slab which covered a "sacred deposit", composed of thin leaves of gold and of small gems. The works which have been made to clear the Angkor monuments have shown moreover that another deposit was laid on the top of the towers, under the cope-stone....At Prasat Ak Yom, this deposit must have been laid in a vault which was found at the level of the surrounding ground, and where two leaves of gold, embossed with the pictures of elephants, have been discovered.²...In spite of the difficulties which a boring down the Angkor-Vat pyramid would present, I asked the curator of Angkor-Vat in 1934, to attempt the experiment....At a depth of 22m. 30, reports G. A. Trouvé, the architect in charge of the works, we began to find some bits of sandstone and a small piece of laterite. At 23m. (nearly the level of the soil around Angkor-Vat) we found a first bed of laterite, roughly squared, 1m. 30 long, 0m. 53 wide, and thick 0m. 33, placed horizontally but with no special care in regard to the direction of the monument. There was a second block of laterite underneath, having the same dimensions and set in the same straight line. During the process of cleaning it, a circular cavity appeared, where two pieces of white crystal lay with a leaf of gold described further below. It was the sacred deposit in the foundation of the central tower of Angkor-Vat. This sacred deposit is composed of two circular leaves of gold, 0m. 18 or so in diameter, and weighing about 65 gr. each. The circular leaves of gold lay at the bottom of a cylindrical hollow 0m. 23 in diameter and 0m. 12 deep. The void was filled up with very fine sand, in the middle of which two bits of white crystal were found." To this statement, adds M. Coedès, which reinforces the links connecting Angkor-Vat with the temple category, must be added the discovery in Angkor-Vat, of a number of statues picturing Viṣṇu avatāra, remains of the period where Angkor-Vat had not yet become the Buddhist sanctuary that it is to-day."

The existence of a sacred deposit at Angkor-Vat can prove that the monument bore a religious character, but it does not allow to decide whether the edifice has been erected to serve for the worship of a god or to serve for the worship of a dead man. The use of 'precious materials' in relation to the worship of the dead is proved by well-known facts in Indian religions. The Indian rituals prescribe to put chips of gold upon the corpse : "He then inserts seven chips of gold in the seven seats of his vital airs ; for gold is light and immortality ; he thus bestows light and immortality on him."³

Some pre-Buddhist sepulchral mounds, some of which are nearly 40 ft. high, and the antiquity of which may be placed 3 or 600 years prior to the Christian era, exist near the villages of Lauriya and Pakhri ;

1. About the direction in which the palaces and monasteries are set in Siam, cf. "Doehring, "Buddhistische Tempelanlagen in Siam, I, 56 ff. 108, 222, 229 ; R. von Heine-Geldern, "Weltbild und Raumform," p. 30.

2. BEPFO, XXXIII, p. 1131.

3. Cf. "Śatagatha brāhmaṇa," trad. Eggeling, SBE, vol. XLIV, p. 203.

they are made of earth in layers, piled around a thick wooden pillar which passes through them all, and the fragments of which have been found inside the tumulus; "calcinated human remains have been discovered inside it, together with a leaflet of gold engraved with the picture of a naked goddess."⁴

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If we adopt the theories which are prevailing just now in Indo-Chinese archaeology, we must admit that Angkor-Vat is a temple. These theories are: (1) that of the temple-Meru; (2) that of the king's apotheosis. The former thesis decides that every religious building is a Meru and that the dead king dwells at Angkor-Vat as Viṣṇu in his celestial palace, in other words, as a god in his temple. The latter thesis reaches the same result for the presumed reason that the kings' statue proves the identity of the sovereign with Viṣṇu.

Against these theories, I insist that Angkor-Vat is essentially neither a Meru nor a temple, that Paramaviṣṇuloka is distinct from the god Viṣṇu and that, to make possible an explanation of the particulars of Angkor-Vat, it is necessary to look upon it as Paramaviṣṇuloka's tomb, and not as a temple of Viṣṇu.

From the dwelling-place of a god, i. e. a temple, to that of a living king, i. e. a palace, to that of a dead king, i. e. a tomb, the diffusion of the same architectural type is easy to follow. In fact, in ancient Cambodia, temples, palaces and tombs are built after the same plan. But it would be exaggerated to conclude that all these monuments partook of the same character. In the West, a town-hall may resemble a religious monument; however we have no right, for all that, to call it a church. In short, Angkor-Vat presents very great analogies with a temple. But the resemblance of forms can mask great differences in character and in destination. The progress of our studies requires that, instead of confusing what can be confused, we should distinguish what can be distinguished.

4. G. Combaz, "L' évolution du stûpa en Asie," *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, 1933, p. 169.

NOTE ON THE VIṢṆUITE TEMPLE AT SOMAPALAYAM

By J. H. COUSINS

The Viṣṇu temple at Somapalayam in the Madanapalle taluk, Madras Presidency belongs to the Vijayanagar era. It has the same style of pillars and carving, the same use of monoliths and multiple pillars, and the same specialization in "black stone" as the temples in Hampi; and it has the same detailed sculptural affluence as the Viṭṭhalarāya temple in Vijayanagar (Hampi).

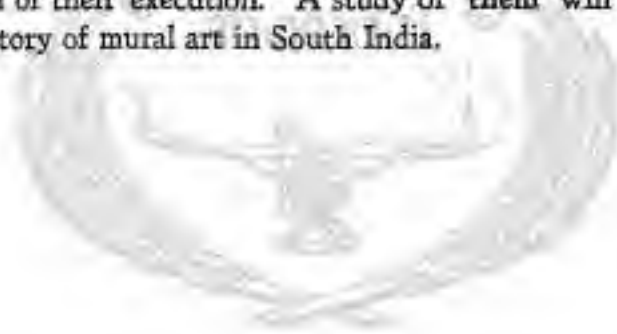
The evidence of attempts at destruction in many, perhaps a majority, of the figures would seem to indicate the same iconoclasm as tried to destroy the sculptures of Vijayanagar on its fall in 1565. If so, Somapalayam temple may possibly be a product of the Vijayanagar enthusiasm in architecture and sculpture at its height in the early sixteenth century. Its location east of Penukonda may have important inferences both as regards its own history and the history of the spread of Mussulman power in that era. The initiative and perfection obvious in the craftsmanship of the temple seem to belong to the crest of a wave, not to a sag of degeneracy after the crest. But besides its association with the style of a period and area, Somapalayam seems to have the stamp of achievement. The pillar before the entrance, a single four-sided granite 'stambha' forty feet high or more, is carved from top to bottom with the familiar tree-scroll, slightly tapering to the capital which is carved out of the same single piece of stone; it is set and oriented on a carved base.

There is a well proportioned choultry beside the entrance to the temple; said to have been made in memory of a shepherd who supplied milk to the workers. Instead, however, of being used for the accommodation of visiting worshippers, we found it crammed by a group of "gipsies" and their animals and 'samans' who befouled the beautiful place

and caused the accumulation of heaps of rubbish at the very door of the temple.

The gopuram of the temple is much reduced in height and dilapidated. It may not be capable of restoration ; but at least it should be carefully guarded against further decay. It is small, like the temple itself, but was evidently of a very good type.

It is on the verandah in front of the door to the shrine (where 'pūjā' is performed once a week) that the eye is caught by patches of colour on the ceiling, once a series of paintings on plaster over the granite ceiling-slabs (Pl. XVI, Figs. 1-3). The paintings are in a lamentable state of decay. But the fragments of fine colouring, the character shown in groups and individuals either in repose or vigorous action, the costuming, the glimpses of structures and equipages, all cry out for protection against individuals who scrawl their names over these paintings. They appear to be based on incidents from the Rāmāyaṇa. It was impossible, in the dim light, to tell the method of their execution. A study of them will add important data on the history of mural art in South India.





SCULPTURED SWORD-HILTS SHOWING SCENES FROM BUDDHIST LEGENDS

By ROBERT HEINE-GELDERN

Although Burmese and Siamese swords and knives with carved ivory hilts are to be found in many museums they seem to have remained as yet almost unnoticed. This is the more to be regretted as they are of real interest and importance from many a point of view. In 1925 I have drawn attention to a sword-hilt from Moeng Sing in French Laos representing a scene from the *Mahāsutasomajātaka*¹. Since then some interesting specimens representing the same subject have come to my notice. In order to understand the meaning of these carved hilts it is necessary to give a short summary of the legend as told in the *Mahāsutasomajātaka* of the Pāli Jātaka Book.

King Brahmādatta of Benares—his other name, Kalmāṣapāda, is mentioned incidentally only—is extremely fond of eating meat. One day the meat reserved for the king is stolen by a dog. It being a holiday and therefore no slaughter being allowed, the cook is unable to obtain other meat and, to save his life from the wrath of the king, at last substitutes a piece of flesh taken from a human corpse. The king, having been in his former existence a man-eating demon, is delighted by the flavour and asks the cook what sort of meat he has been given. The cook confesses whereupon the king orders him to offer him henceforward none but human flesh. To procure this the cook starts murdering people in the streets of the city. At last he is found out, the king is banished and goes to live in the woods killing and devouring travellers. One day, when trying to capture a rich Brahman, he is put to flight by the latter's armed attendants and in running severely hurts his foot. He makes a vow to

1. Heine-Geldern, Eine Szene aus dem Sutasoma-Jātaka auf hinduistischen und indonesischen Schwertgriffen, *Ipek, Jahrbuch für prähistorische und ethnographische Kunst*, 1925, pp. 198-202.

sacrifice for his recovery hundred and one kings to the godling of the Nigrodha tree in whose branches he has made his abode. His wound being healed, he proceeds to fulfil his promise. On the way he meets a demon who in his former life had been his friend and is taught by him an incantation by which he gains enormous strength and the power to run and to leap "as quick as the wind." Within a week he captures hundred and one kings and fastens them to the Nigrodha tree. The tree-god, however, abhors the man-eater's cruel intention and, knowing that none but king Sutasoma, the Bodhisattva, would be able to tame him, asks the sacrifice of Sutasoma too. The man-eater thereupon hides in the bathing pond of Sutasoma's garden, covering his head with a lotus leaf, seizes the king when he comes to bathe, puts him astride on his shoulders, jumps with him over the wall surrounding the garden and over the whole royal army arrayed outside and carries him off into the jungle. The end of the story, telling the conversion of the man-eater by Sutasoma, need not concern us here.

Besides the Mahāsutasomajātaka there are numerous other versions of the legend, Buddhist, Brahmanic and Jinist, and written in Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan and Javanese¹. From these I shall only mention some traits not contained in the Mahāsutasomajātaka which are of importance for the present subject.

In some of the Mahāyāna versions of the legend, Kalmāṣapāda is predestined to become a man-eater, not by having been a demon in his former life, but by being the son of a lioness whom his father, king Sudāsa, had once met when out hunting. In the Bhadrakalpāvadāna he is therefore called Saudāsa Narasiṃha, Sudāsa's son, the Man-Lion, while in the Chinese translation of the Siṃhasaudāsamāṃsabhakṣanivṛtti he is even expressly stated to have been born with a human body and the head of a lion². As H. Kern has rightly pointed out, this version is certainly more

1. E. Watanabe, The story of Kalmāṣapāda and its evolution in Indian Literature, Journal of the Pālī Text Society, 1909, pp. 236-310. H. Kern, Kalmāṣapāda en Sutasoma, Verspreide Geschriften III ('s-Gravenhage 1915) pp. 123-151. Over de Vermenging van Śīvalisme en Buddhisme op Java, naar aanleiding van het Oudjavanisch Gedicht Sutasoma, Ibidem IV ('s-Gravenhage 1916) pp. 151-177. J. S. Speyer, Jātakamālā, translated from the original Sanskrit, Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië XLIV (1894) pp. 616-637.

2. Watanabe, l. c., 261, 265, 266, 269-270. Speyer, l. c., p. 610. Kern, Kalmāṣapāda etc., pp. 130, 132.

ancient than the one told in the *Mahāsutasomajātaka* and nearer to the mythological basis of the legend¹. On this mythological basis I need not dwell here as I have already discussed it elsewhere².

A very different story is told in Brahmanic literature : *Brhaddevatā*, *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. Here *Kalmāṣapāda* is cursed by an offended Brahman to roam about as man-eater for a period of twelve years. In the *Mahābhārata* the fulfilment of this curse, uttered on two different occasions by Brahmans whom the king has insulted, is brought about by *Viśvāmitra* ordering a *Rākṣasa* to possess the king who thereupon loses his senses³.

The story of *Kalmāṣapāda* is well known in popular Buddhism too. In Burma the *Bawdithāda* (corrupted from the Pāli *Porisāda*, "man-eater" i. e. *Kalmāṣapāda*) is or was considered as "the great proto-type of acquired invulnerability." Soldiers and robbers were sometimes tattooed with the image of *Kalmāṣapāda*, assimilating themselves to the man-eater by chewing a piece of raw human flesh while undergoing the operation. By this they thought to acquire invulnerability, enormous strength and courage and the power to jump very high and very far. A person tattooed in this way was himself called a *Bawdithāda*, a man-eater. The procedure was however deemed to be very dangerous, as people who underwent it were thought to be liable to go incurably mad in which case they would "wander about graveyards, gnashing their teeth and fumbling about for human bones to gnaw and mouth"⁴.

This belief, that a man who makes himself a *Bawdithāda* is apt to go mad roaming about in search of human flesh and bones, has no foundation in the *Mahāsutasomajātaka*. It reminds us, however, of the way by which *Kalmāṣapāda* is said to have become mad in Brahmanic literature and specially in the *Mahābhārata* where he is entered by a *Rākṣasa*, thereupon loses his reason, and in this state starts to devour human beings⁵.

1. Kern, *Kalmāṣapāda* etc., pp. 139, 148.

2. Helne-Geldern, *Eine Szene aus dem Sutasoma-Jātaka* etc., pp. 206-213. Ueber Kris-Griffe und ihre mythologischen Grundlagen, *Orientalische Zeitschrift* XVIII (1932) pp. 266-295.

3. *Mahābhārata*, I, 173.

4. J. George Scott, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and Shan States*, Part I, Vol. II (Rangoon 1900) pp. 77-79. Shway Yoe, *The Burman, his Life and Notions* (London 1910) pp. 64-65.

5. The curse motive is equally to be found in two *Mahāyāna* versions of the legend which may, however, have borrowed it from the *Mahābhārata*. Cf. Watanabe, l. c., pp. 252, 267, 268, 290-291.

Invulnerability is not attributed to Kalmāṣapāda in the Mahāsutasomajātaka nor, as far as I know, in any of the other texts. We may, however, be sure that this quality credited to the man-eater by popular belief is not a late addition, as it can easily be shown to be one of the essential motives of the original myth forming the basis of the legend¹.

From all this we may infer that the Sutasoma-Kalmāṣapāda legend as popularly current in Further India is not simply derived from the canonical Mahāsutasomajātaka but has conserved some archaic traits which are only to be found in the Sanskrit versions of the legend or in no known written version at all. This is important as it will help us to explain certain characteristics of the sword-hilts.

The sword-hilt from Moeng Sing in French Laos (Pl. XVII, Fig. 1) represents Kalmāṣapāda while carrying off Sutasoma on his shoulders. Sutasoma is a young man in princely garbs while the man-eater has demoniacal features. This is not strictly in accordance with the Mahāsutasomajātaka in which the man-eater is introduced as an ordinary human being whereas in the *Bṛhaddevatā* and in some of the Mahāyāna versions of the legend he is said to have been changed into a Rākṣasa². However, I think that not too much stress should be laid on this point. Evidently popular imagination could not fancy a man-eater in other shape than under the features of a Rākṣasa or, to use the Burmese term, of a Bilu.

Some of the sword-hilts of the Dayak of Borneo too, as I have already pointed out elsewhere, must be considered as transformations of the Kalmāṣapāda-Sutasoma motive³. As seen in Pl. XVII, Fig. 2 the head only of Kalmāṣapāda is represented carrying the figure of Sutasoma. The spiral eyes and horns of the man-eater's demoniac head are traits characteristic of the Banaspati heads on Javanese temples dating from the 13th and the 14th century⁴. We may infer from this that the Dayak sword-hilts in question have originally been copied from Javanese sword-hilts imported during this period. This seems the more plausible as the coasts of Borneo were under the supremacy of the Javanese kingdom of Madja-

1. Heine-Geldern, *Ueber Kris-Griffe* etc., p. 273.

2. Watanabe, l. c., 245-247, 251, 262, 267, 268. 'Kern', *Kalmāṣapāda* etc., pp. 126, 128.

3. Heine-Geldern, *Eine Szene aus dem Sutasoma-Jātaka* etc., pp. 217-228.

4. In the profil view of fig. 2 the horns are to be seen protruding from underneath the legs of the Sutasoma figure.

pahit during a part of the 14th century. It is highly probable therefore that sword-hilts with the Sutasoma-Kalmāṣapāda motive, iconographically closely akin to that from Moeng Sing, were common in Java too in ancient times.

There can be little doubt that the sword and knife-hilts reproduced in PL XVII, Figs. 3 to 6, though of another type, are equally meant to represent the Sutasoma legend. Here the man-eater is not carrying off Sutasoma but sits in a squatting position while holding his victim between his knees. There is, moreover, another difference distinguishing this group from the Moeng Sing sword-hilt: Kalmāṣapāda is not shown here as being of equal size with Sutasoma, but as a giant, a trait again more in accordance with some of the Mahāyāna versions of the legend and recurring in the representation of the Sutasomajātaaka among the reliefs of the Borobudur.

The knife shown by Fig. 3 was acquired by its owner in Siam. Kalmāṣapāda appears here as a giant Rākṣasa holding Sutasoma by both hands. Sutasoma's only garment is a simple loin-cloth. The dots on his thighs are certainly meant to represent tattooing. This gives us a clue as to the provenance of the knife. It must come from Northern Siam (region of Chieng Mai etc.) or from Burma or the Shan States where tattooing is practised. The workmanship is crude but the piece is not devoid of a certain primitive and barbaric power, especially the very impressive head of the demoniac man-eater. The worn surface seems to imply a considerable age.

The ivory hilt reproduced in PL XVII, Fig. 4 is said to come from Northern Siam. Both, Kalmāṣapāda and Sutasoma, wear royal crowns, and the former opens his enormous mouth as if to swallow his victim. But apart from these minor iconographical differences, what enormous difference in style! Nothing here of the simplicity of forms, of the bold though clumsy attempt at realism recognisable in Fig. 3. On the contrary, the whole group is treated in a purely decorative way, strictly adapting itself to the unbroken outlines of the hilt, and crammed with an abundance of richly carved details which make it difficult to distinguish the disposition of the bodies and limbs. In contrast to the other hilts even Sutasoma's physiognomy has more of a phantastic mask than of a human face. Unfortunately as yet next to nothing is known of the sculptural and applied arts of the Lao and Shan, so that any attempt to explain this remarkable stylistic difference between two objects serving both the same

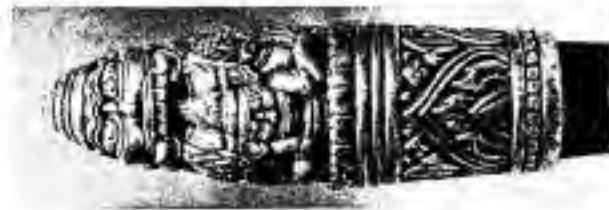
purpose, representing the same scene, and coming from the same or neighbouring regions, would at present be futile.

The knife-hilt of Burmese origin shown in Pl. XVII, Fig. 5 is perhaps the most interesting one from the point of view of iconography. Here the head of the man-eater is not the ordinary one of a *Rākṣasa* but that of an animal, and his toes too end in claws. As the head certainly has a strong resemblance to that of a monkey one could feel tempted to identify the figure rather with Hanumān than with Kalmāṣapāda; the more so as it is known that sword-hilts with the figure of Hanumān were frequent in Burma about 1800 A.D.¹ However, I do not know of any incident in the story of Hanumān which could plausibly be identified with the scene on the hilt. Moreover, the similarity of arrangement with the hilts Figs. 3 and 4, where there can be no question of Hanumān, makes it almost certain that in this case too we have a representation of the Sutasomajātaka. It seems to me that we have to deal here, originally at least, with a figure of the lion-headed Kalmāṣapāda known from a Mahāyāna version of the legend cited above. What may have happened, however, is that the carver, not understanding the nature of his model—the lion being, in Burma, only a mythological animal and no lion's head being attributed to Kalmāṣapāda in the Hīnayāna versions—assimilated his copy more or less to the familiar figure of Hanumān. In looking through a large series of carved sword-hilts from Burma and Siam, showing extremely varied and in some cases very complicated subjects, one gets indeed more than once the impression, that the artist, through some confusion, has mixed up two subjects, not being aware of their real meaning.

Another remarkable feature of the knife-hilt, Fig. 5 is that Sutasoma is shown entirely naked and not with the proportions of a grown-up man but with those of a young boy. I shall discuss this point later.

Almost the same motive as the one from Burma, the animal-headed man-eater holding a naked child between his knees, shows up on an excellently carved ivory sword-hilt from the Batak of Sumatra Pl. XVII, Fig. 6. The man-eater, if we may call him so, touches the child's head with his open mouth and his long protruding tongue as if he meant to

1. Father Sangermano, *A Description of the Burmese Empire* (Rome 1833) p. 116.



taste it. Both figures wear necklaces, bracelets and anklets. The child, in this case, seems to be a girl but this may be due to some misunderstanding or to the assimilation to some indigenous motive. The general arrangement of the scene on the Batak hilt is so much like that of the Burmese knife-hilt I have just commented upon (Fig. 5) that there can hardly be any doubt that the Batak hilts, of this class are copies of Burmese ones or that both, Burmese and Batak hilts, are derived from the same (Indian ?) original. Moreover the soft and rounded forms of the child, and in a less degree of the man-eater too, are quite unlike the way human forms are interpreted in Batak carving, so that we may be sure that we have to deal here with a copy from a foreign model. Thus it is extremely probable that the Sutasoma-Kalmāṣapāda scene is at the root of this Batak sword-hilt too.

However, if the figure of the child and the moulding of the man-eater certainly betray foreign influence, the figure itself of the man-eater and the way he touches the head of the child with his mouth, are purely Batak. A comparison with a detail from one of the magic wands of the Batak (Pl. XVII, Fig. 7) will explain this better than words could do. This motive of an animal figure touching with its mouth the head of the figure beneath it, is extremely frequent on Batak wands. The scene represented here may even be said to be, outwardly at least, identical with that of the hilt in question, with the exception of the figure of the child being substituted by that of a grown-up person. How is this to be explained? Have the Batak accepted the Sutasoma-Kalmāṣapāda motive among the sculptures of their magic wands? This is quite possible—there are other traces of foreign influence among the carvings of these wands—but it is far from certain. Indeed we face here a most intricate problem which I can only try to outline with a few words.

As I hope to have soon an occasion to prove, the magic wands of the Batak belong to a style which must have been widely spread in Eastern Asia during the first half of the 2nd millennium B. C., a style which formed one of the roots of the Shang style of China, and the last living branches of which are to be found among the Indians of the Northwest coast of America, among the Batak of Sumatra (the wands), among the Dayak of Borneo (certain 'hempatong' or monuments to the dead) and in some parts of Melanesia. Now in most places

where the influence of this style has made itself felt, a motive closely resembling that of Figs. 3 to 7 is found: a demon or an animal holding a human figure before its body, in some cases as if threatening to devour it. Thus it may well be that the scene of the Batak wand reproduced in Fig. 7 is not derived from the Sutasoma legend but purely indigenous. However, the existence of such a scene may have helped in making the Batak adopt and assimilate the sword-hilts with Kalmāṣapāda and Sutasoma so much resembling the familiar motive in outward form and perhaps even akin to it as to its mythic and magic meaning¹. We may perhaps even go farther still and ask whether sword-hilts as those shown in Figs. 3, 4 and 5 may not equally be derived from some motive of the pre-Buddhistic art of Central Indochina or of China, later transformed so as to represent the Sutasomajāataka. This is not quite impossible; however, we are not able in the present state of our knowledge to answer this question either in the affirmative or negative.

There is still another feature in Batak culture which must have had a hand in making them adopt the Kalmāṣapāda motive. The Batak were cannibals up to the first years of the present century. A legend and a magic figure like that of Kalmāṣapāda which seemed to promise a cannibal the qualities most coveted by a barbarian warrior, invulnerability, strength, courage, the power to jump very far and very high, must have appealed to them very strongly. It is interesting to note that the reason given for the cannibalism of the Batak by their Malay neighbours is the same as that given for the cannibalism of Kalmāṣapāda in the Mahābhārata, i. e. possession by a demon². Traces of this belief are even to be found as far as South Sumatra, in a region distant some hundred kilometres from Batak land. Among the incantations of the Mohammedan Bulian Kubu on the river Lalan between Djambi and Palembang, incantations which are certainly of Malay origin, there is one addressed to a demon called Batak Gilo who is conceived as a crazy robber and murderer. The priest in this incantation behaves as a madman uttering all sorts of incoherent

1. It is not improbable that the remote mythic roots of both, the Sutasoma legend and the circum-pacific motive in question, were closely akin.

2. Oral information kindly supplied by Prof. P. X. Schaffer, Vienna.

sounds. The Kubu relate "that this demon is the protective spirit of a tribe of robbers and murderers"—i. e. of course, the Batak¹.

Evidently it was thought that the Batak had gone mad through possession by a demon and in their madness practised cannibalism; it is the same according to the *Mahābhārata*; *Kalmāṣapāda*, after having been entered by a *Rākṣasa*, goes mad and begins to devour human beings, and the same as in Burma; according to popular belief, men who went through the rite of being tattooed with *Kalmāṣapāda*'s image while chewing human flesh, were liable to go mad and to become cannibals. We may infer from this that at the time when Buddhism prevailed in Sumatra the Batak were probably more or less identified with *Kalmāṣapāda*, at least by their neighbours, and that, as far as they had been touched by Buddhism, they may have identified themselves with this legendary figure, just as the Burmese who made himself a *Bawdithāda* tried to assimilate himself by magic means to the man-eating antagonist of *Sutasoma*². We know by the researches of Dr. Bosch and of Mr. Schnitger that Tantric Buddhism as practised by the sect of the *Bhairavas* was the chief religion of Padang Lawas, a part of the Batak region, during the 11th and the 12th century, and both authors have laid stress on the points of contact which this gruesome religion must have found in the cannibalism and the magic rites of the Batak with their horrible human sacrifices³. It may have been through Padang Lawas and at the period in question that the Batak got acquainted with the figure of *Kalmāṣapāda* and with its magical use as a sword-hilt⁴.

1. G. J. van Dongen, *De Koeboes in de Onderafdeeling Koeboestrekken der Residentie Palembang*, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* LXIII (1909) pp. 324-326.

2. Mr. F. M. Schnitger, after having read my manuscript, kindly supplied the following note: "Among the Batak of the Pakpak country, Northwest of Lake Toba, legends are told about a man-eating demon by whom, as late as the beginning of this century, some people thought to be inspired. They imitated him in their dress and, if they had an occasion, caught children and devoured them ritually." This seems to confirm, in a most astonishing way, the view expressed above.

3. F. D. K. Bosch, *Verslag van een Reis door Sumatra*, *Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië*, *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1930, pp. 134-148. F. M. Schnitger, *Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Padang Lawas* (Leiden 1936). *Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Padang Lawas* (*Midden Tapacoli*), *Elsevier's Geëllustreerd Maanschrift*, 1936, pp. 289-304. *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*, *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Supplement to Vol. XXXV (Leiden 1937) pp. 16-37.

4. However, a still earlier introduction of the *Kalmāṣapāda* legend into the Batak country is equally possible. There are strong reasons (which it would take too long to expose here) for assuming that the Batak were in contact with Buddhism as early as the 3rd century A. D.

There still remains one more point to be discussed concerning the hilts in Figs. 5 and 6. Why is Sutasoma represented here not as a grown-up man but as a child? Has the artist by misinterpreting the contrast between the giant Kalmāṣapāda and the smaller figure of Sutasoma as shown in Fig. 3 mistaken the latter to represent a boy and reproduced it in the proportions of a very young child? This seems hardly probable. Or is the child not meant to represent Sutasoma at all but some indefinite victim of Kalmāṣapāda? In a Jinist version of the legend it is children indeed that the man-eater chiefly devours¹. However, it seems improbable that Kalmāṣapāda should have been represented for magical purposes otherwise than in connection with his most famous deed, i. e. the capture of Sutasoma. I should rather think that we have got to deal here with a very ancient trait of the legend, rooted in its long forgotten mythological basis and kept alive by iconographical tradition only, though its real meaning had long ago sunk into oblivion.

H. Kern has pointed out the mythological foundations of the Sutasoma legend and I have tried to elaborate this subject more in detail². Indeed the legend belongs to a wide-spread type of myths in which the hero undergoes the fate of the moon, being captured or even swallowed by a man-eating demon (as the moon seems to be "eaten up" by its dark part), later to be released or brought to life again, ultimately subduing his adversary. It is of course the new or "young" moon to which the rescued and victorious hero corresponds, and it seems not improbable that it is this feature which was originally emphasised by representing Sutasoma as a child, though he appears in the legend as a grown-up youth or even man.

The point is not quite without importance even for Christian hagiography. Speyer and Garbe have shown beyond doubt and I have tried to sustain with additional arguments, that the Christian legend of St. Christophorus is derived from the Sutasomajātaka³. In old versions of

1. Watanabe, l. c., pp. 293-294.

2. Kern, Kalmāṣapāda etc., pp. 146-148. Heine-Geldern, Eine Szene aus dem Sutasoma-Jātaka etc., pp. 211-213. Ueber Kris-Griffe etc., pp. 287-288.

3. J. S. Speyer, De Indische Oorsprong van den Heiligen Rens Sint Christophorus, Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, LXIII (1909) pp. 968-980. E. Garbe, Indien und das Christentum (Tübingen 1914) pp. 101-111. Heine-Geldern, Eine Szene aus dem Sutasoma-Jātaka etc. pp. 235-238.

the legend the saint appears as a giant with a dog's head and is said to have been a man-eater before his conversion. He bears the infant Jesus on his shoulders as Kalmāṣapāda bears Sutasoma, the Bodhisattva. Speyer was certainly right in pointing out that the Christian legend can not be based solely on the Buddhist narration but must have been influenced by representations of the Sutasomajāta in sculpture or painting. "How has it come about," he asked, "that (in the Christophorus legend) Christ was represented as a child?" He assumed that the Christians, seeing figures of the giant Kalmāṣapāda with Sutasoma on his shoulders, mistook the latter to be a child. Now it is very remarkable that both, the Christophorus legend and the sword-hilts reproduced in Figs. 5 and 6, have two characteristic features in common: the saviour—Jesus, respectively the Bodhisattva—is a child, and the man-eating giant has got an animal's head, Christophorus that of a dog and the figure of the Burmese hilt that of a monkey, both being probably misinterpretations of Kalmāṣapāda's original lion's head. We may infer from this that a similar group—the lion-headed Kalmāṣapāda with the child-like Sutasoma, the former probably carrying the latter on his shoulders—must have existed in ancient India too, and that it was this group which found its way into Christian legend.

Besides the figures of Sutasoma and Kalmāṣapāda there are numerous other motives to be found among the carved ivory hilts of Burmese and Siamese swords and knives. Here I shall mention only one knife-hilt, probably originating from Northern Siam or the Shan States and perhaps the most curious one I ever came across. It represents a demon riding on a quadruped, at the same time grasping the animal's head with both hands and devouring its head (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 8). The animal wears anklets and some sort of trapping which is to be seen on the breast and on both sides of its tail.

As yet I have not been able to find out the meaning of this enigmatical scene and none of the many authorities I have asked about it could give me an answer. It seems rather probable, however, that it represents some Buddhist legend. Up till now it is the only specimen of its kind that I have seen or heard of, but formerly this motive must have had a far spread, for its traces recur a thousand miles to the south in the island of Nias west of Sumatra.

Here, sword-hilts consisting of a monster's head with a little figure seated on it, are fairly common (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 9). There can be no doubt that the monster is copied from a Makara. Sword-hilts representing a Makara with a small figure riding on it must have been well known in Indonesia in ancient times for they occur in Borneo too (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 10). However, in Nias the little figure seated on the Makara grasps with both hands what seems to be a small stick rising from the top of the Makara's head, swallowing at the same time this small stick's upper end—exactly the same as the demon in Fig. 8 grasps with both hands the stick-like neck of the animal he is riding and swallows its head. It is remarkable, moreover, that the face of the little figure on the Nias sword-hilt corresponds almost exactly to the snout-like face of the demon in Fig. 8. Nothing similar is to be found in all the art of Nias, the faces of human figures (also of those meant to represent ghosts) always being of strictly orthognathous form.

It seems to me doubtless therefore that the Nias hilts in question owe their origin to a confusion by the indigenous artists who combined two sorts of sword-hilts of Hinduistic or Buddhistic origin, one showing a Makara with a human figure riding on it, the other one corresponding to the Siamese hilt reproduced in Fig. 8¹. This is of importance as it confirms, as some other characteristic conformities too, the existence of ancient relations between the island of Nias and the Buddhist and Hinduist kingdoms of Further India².

1. In an earlier paper (*Eine Szene aus dem Sutasoma-Jātaka* etc., pp. 213-217) I have erroneously tried to interpret these Nias hilts as being originally representations of the Kalatāpāda-Sutasoma motive. There is, however, in Nias another type of hilts (l. c. p. 215, fig. C) which might perhaps be considered as a combination of this latter with the one shown here in Fig. 8.

2. To mention only one of these conformities: the helmets of Nias with their ornaments of golden or gilt metal boughs find their nearest counterpart in the helmets represented on the reliefs of ancient Angkor in Cambodia.

FIGURES: 1. Sword-hilt of ivory, Moäng Sing, French Laos. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna. 2. Sword-hilt of stag-horn, North Borneo. Collection Baron Siegfried Pitner, Vienna. 3. Knife-hilt of ivory, North Siam or Shan States. Collection Herteln, Vienna. 4. Sword or knife-hilt of ivory, North Siam. Formerly in the Collection R. Eisenhofer, Munich. 5. Knife-hilt of ivory, Burma. Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich. 6. Sword or knife-hilt of ivory, Batak, Sumatra. Museum voor Land en Völkerkunde Rotterdam. 7. Wooden sculpture, detail of a magic wand, Batak, Sumatra. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna. 8. Knife-hilt of ivory, North Siam or Shan States. Collection Herteln, Vienna. 9. Sword-hilt of wood, Nias. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna. 10. Sword-hilt of stag-horn, North Borneo. Collection Baron Siegfried Pitner, Vienna.



8a



8b



8c



9



10

NOTES ON SOME SCHOOLS OF RAJPUT PAINTING

By H. GOETZ

Since A. K. Coomaraswamy discovered Rajput painting as a perfect expression of some of the ideals which India had to offer to humanity, the progress of our knowledge of this art has been rather one-sided. Much has been done to elucidate its individuality and its characteristic themes, but its historical position and development are on the whole still a matter of conjecture and guesswork. Most of these paintings were first brought to the notice of collectors by art dealers whose statements about their place of origin had to be vague and unreliable for commercial reasons or due to indifference. The application of historical and aesthetic criticism has on the other hand proved very unsatisfactory ; whereas in the case of Mughal art we have to do with the creations of one dynasty and one civilisation of essentially the same standard everywhere, Rajput art is split up in many local schools the standards and fates of which differ as much as the kaleidoscopic history of the Rajput clans. Coomaraswamy as well as the author of these lines had made some attempts to come at least to some chronological sequence by tracing contemporary features in the dresses and buildings depicted in Mughal and Rajput paintings ; but for the just mentioned reasons these can at best be regarded as a terminus post quem, the more as our knowledge of the history of Rajput architecture is still in the beginning. And the same might be said of our classification of local schools. The only way to arrive at a reliable chronological and local classification, is the examination of the collections still more or less intact in the different royal palaces or transferred from those to some local museum. Though intermixed with a number of miniatures from other places, they represent the products of the local court painters, and tradition is still more or less alive about the persons and events depicted in them. Thus it is possible to reconstruct at least the outlines of their development and style. The following remarks are based on notes taken in some of these

collections, and though their character is rather preliminary, it is hoped they will contribute to a readjustment of our ideas on the history of Rajput art.

1. Jaipur. A mass of paintings, most of them late and of bad quality, are to be seen in Jaipur. The Palace collection (in the Pustakālaya), however, contains very reliable and good works, and the Museum possesses additional material of interest. I have, however, been unable to trace any miniatures which for good reasons might be ascribed to the period preceding the great Sawai Jai Singh II. The Jaipur paintings of the reign of that great art maecenas do not differ much from the contemporary Mughal art, the difference consisting essentially in that accentuation of a flat outline always so characteristic of Rajput art. It is only under Sawai Madho Singh (1751-68) that a distinct Jaipur style becomes obvious which may best be characterized as a Rajput counterpart to the Lucknow art under Shuja-ud-daula. The zenith of this new style is reached under Sawai Pratap Singh (1779-1803) and Sawai Jagat Singh (1805-1818); and after the latter's death the slow disintegration of Jaipur painting sets in. The miniatures of Pratap Singh's time are still comparatively true to nature. They show the distinguished heavy flow of lines and the pompous dresses so well-known to all connoisseurs of Rajasthani paintings, but nothing is exaggerated. The style of Jagat Singh, however, is musical and decorative, the outlines swing like in a dance, nature has become subordinated to ornamental effects, and the dresses are bizarre and extravagant. A special feature of this phase are the large-size paintings, often incrustated with precious stones, glass and embossed gold foils. - The famous cartoons to the *Rasa Līlā* in the Jaipur Palace which Coomaraswamy had published many years ago, are of the best examples of this perfect art. It is, so to say, the weighty, pompous counterpart to the sweet, gracious Kangra paintings.

2. Jodhpur. In Jodhpur the former Palace collections have been transferred to the new and well arranged Museum. Here, too, I could not trace any accredited miniature of the time preceding Maharaja Abhai Singh, the contemporary of Sawai Jai Singh II of Jaipur. The few paintings of the reign of Abhai Singh are executed in an almost pure Mughal style of the type prevalent under the emperor Aurangzeb. Under Bakhat Singh about the middle of the 18th century, this style begins to detach itself more

and more from the Mughal tradition and assumes the features so characteristic of Rajput art, flatness, accentuated outline and geometrical composition. But whereas painting at the court of Madho Singh had already reached a high standard, the art of Bakhat Singh's reign is not very remarkable. Then of a sudden there follows a golden age under the art-loving Man Singh, a weak ruler, but a great *maecenas*, builder of the best palaces of Jodhpur castle, poet and protector of literature, and a fervent devotee of Nāthji. There is an enormous output of miniatures, first in a style comparable to the Jaipur style under Sawai Pratap Singh, then in the musical and flowing, decorative and extravagant fashion of his other contemporary Jagat Singh. It is the time of the extremely high turbans and standing-off dresses. But the size of the paintings, though bigger than at the Mughal court (two to three times), is smaller than at Jaipur, and the large-size paintings are almost unknown, the outline is not so heavy and pompous, the colours, though gay like the yellow and red dresses of the Marwari ladies, lack the grave glamour of the Jaipur works. Man Singh's later reign represents the zenith of Jodhpur art. Under his successor Takhat Singh, in the first half of the 19th century, painting is still in fashion but the execution is as vulgar and superficial as the themes are licentious and amusing. Man Singh, like Muhammad Shah of Delhi, was a refined art connoisseur, but Takhat Singh, like Ahmad Shah, a fast lover of female charms. With him the final decay of Jodhpur painting set in rapidly.

3. Bundelkhand. In the eyes of modern historians the Bundela Rajputs have been overshadowed by the splendour of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur and the other states of Western Rajasthan. They have, however, played an important role in the history of Indian civilisation, first in the times of the Malwa Sultanate, then under Bir Singh Deo, the contemporary of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan, and finally under Maharaja Chhattarsal in the 18th century. The grand palaces of Bir Singh Deo at Datia and Orchha still preserve fragments of wall paintings and sgraffito drawings in a style absolutely identical with that of the tile friezes of the Lahore Fort. Though there are traces of a certain Mughal influence, this art must be regarded rather as one of the Indian constituents of early Mughal painting as it continues the tradition already obvious in the figural friezes of Man Singh's palace at Gwalior. But the fact of certain Mughal influences in these early Orchha paintings seems to me a sufficient reason to ascribe the

manuscript of the *Rasikāpriyā* of Keśavadās in the Boston Museum to Orchha, the town where the birth-place of that great Hindi poet still is shown. Then comes a long void. The paintings on the ceilings of the pavilions added in the 17th century to the Raj Mandir of Orchha must have been executed between 1720 and 1740 and represent the same debased form of Mughal painting as the Jaipur miniatures of Sawai Jai Singh's reign or those of Jodhpur under Abhai Singh. The revival of painting in Datia under Maharaja Indarjit represents a style corresponding to that of the reigns of Madho Singh and Bakhat Singh in those other Rajput centres, and it shows the same relationship to the Lucknow style of Shuja-ud-daula. It is only about 1800, under Maharaja Shatrugit, that the "classical Bundela" miniatures are painted in Datia, and they betray an undoubtable strong impress of Mughal art. The better frescoes in the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple at Orchha are works of the early 19th century, and in Datia there follows, after a decline under Maharaja Parichit, a new revival under Bijai Bahadur, about the middle of the 19th century, and the final decline sets in under the predecessor of the present ruler. I have not had an opportunity to search Eastern Bundelkhand for old paintings, but I believe there is no reason to assume a different evolution in that part of the country.

4. Chamba. In Chamba the Bhuri Singh Museum conserves the former Palace collection. It allows us to draw up an outline of the development of Chamba painting from the time of Raja Umed Singh (1748-64), at the hand of reliable historical portraits. There are also earlier undated paintings for the chronology of which we must rely on certain stylistical and archaeological clues of evidence which are, however, sufficient for connecting the history of this pictorial school with the vicissitudes of the Chamba State. The painted wood carvings of the Brahmor Kothi, Rajput variants of the art of Akbar and Jahangir represent the time when under the Rajas Janardan and Balabhadra (1589-1613; 1623-1641) the fate of Chamba was closely interlinked with that of the Nurpur Rajas, the mighty favourites at Jahangir's court. A portrait of Raja Prithvi Singh (1641-64) [D. I.] would suggest the coming of Mughal influence already in the time of Shahjahan; but as it is an exact counterpart to that of Umed Singh (1748-64) we can dismiss it as a later fictitious creation. For we may safely suppose that most of the earlier paintings were

destroyed in the fire which burnt down Chamba at the occasion of the deposal and flight of Ugar Singh (1720-35). Some few old paintings have, however, been preserved. As they show a near relationship with the art of Basohli, they seem to have been painted during the reigns of Prithvi Singh who was married to a Basohli princess and of their son Chhatar Singh (1664-1690). Two miniatures [D7 and 8] depicting Paraśurāma and Kalkī, with a brutal, but expressive outline, a simple composition and a modest colour-scale, probably represent the early phase of this art as a number of archaeological details bring their time of execution near to the late years of Jahangir. The later development of the same style is to be seen in a Life of the young Kṛṣṇa [D10-23, 25-32] the date of which can not exactly be fixed, but may be estimated to be the last decades before the burning of Chamba, from the late years of the Emperor Aurangzeb to the early reign of Muhammad Shah. There is still the glowing red or yellow background, but a blue one has been added; the composition is still geometrical, but full of figures and scenic accessories; the figures are awkward, but full of movements, the backs of the heads flat, their fronts receding; architecture and dress reveal traces of Mughal influences of the whole 17th century. After the Chamba fire the Basohli style was no more continued; the portraits of Umed Singh (1748-64) [D. III] and the fictitious portraits of Prithvi and Chhatar Singh though, no doubt, reliable as portraits, are executed in a sort of degenerated Mughal style, similar to that which we have found also in Jaipur, Jodhpur and Datia. For Umed Singh as well as his predecessor Dalel Singh (1735-48) had come to the throne with the assistance of Mughal troops, and were much in touch with the Mughal governors. Perhaps we are entitled to ascribe to this period also the Kṛṣṇa painting [D. 24] where the rapid transition from the Mughal style to the early Kangra school is obvious; it is the group described by Coomaraswamy as early 18th century [cf. *Rajput Painting*, 1916; *Heavenly Nymphs*, etc.], but which for other reasons also will better be styled middle of the 18th century. In the time of Raj Singh (1764-94) [D. IV and V] the growing ascendancy and final victory of Kangra art is quite evident. A cycle of the Six Months [D. 1-6] may be contemporary with Ranjit Deo of Jammu and Ghamand Chand of Kangra, i. e. ca. 1775 A. D.; this is already the characteristic Kangra manner but the polish

and refinement are still absent, the composition is somewhat incoherent, the colours rather dull, the figures lack the grace of the high Kangra style though they are less massive than in the paintings of the preceding time, the execution of the details is rather superficial. During the last years of Raj Singh and during those of Jit Singh (1794-1808) [D VI], the contemporaries of Sansar Chand, the Kangra style has reached its zenith and is supreme at the Chamba court. A number of first-class illustrated religious stories belong to this period. In some of the paintings certain features characteristic of the art of Mola Ram are obvious, but probably they are only due to a fashion prevalent during some few years. During the minority of Charhat Singh (1808-44) [D. VII, VIII] Rani Sarda had painted the walls of a small fountain house, at the foot of the stairs to the Cāmuṇḍā-Temple: the later paintings of the same ruler on the whole follow the lines of Sikh taste, a rather crude and vulgar echo of the preceding splendid age. Chamba art has lingered on for another number of decades, and quite satisfactory wall-paintings have been executed in several religious buildings. Nevertheless, we may regard the reign of Charhat Singh as the real end of Chamba pictorial art.

This analysis of the chronology and the style development of some few, but important schools of Rajput painting brings home to us several important conclusions. The Rajput style does not represent an Hindu art absolutely dissociated from the Mughal tradition but rather an aesthetic ideal based on a religious conception of life different from the Muhammedan ideal. The paintings executed at the Rajput courts, however, are the products of an age of intensive cultural mixture, and in the same way as the contemporary Rajput architecture, had been liable to all the cultural consequences of agitated political relations; they have left their impress on Mughal art as well as at other times they were almost overshadowed by the latter and finally there came decades of a really independent evolution! It is not the place here to speculate on the contributions of the Pathan style to the Rajput art of the 15th and 16th centuries; there are sufficient reasons to postulate such a productive contact. Anyhow, when Akbar and Jahangir built up the Mughal civilisation out of Turkestani, Pathan and Rajput elements, Rajput art was established and balanced and was the giving, not the receiving party in the game. The frescoes and tile friezes of the Man Mandir at

Gwalior, of the palaces of Bir Singh Deo, etc. are not the copies, but the models of Mughal art, as it is evident especially from the tile mosaics at the Lahore Fort. But already at Orchha the growing influence of the new Mughal civilisation is undeniable. And when the latter reaches its zenith under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, Rajput architecture is transformed by the uniform Imperial Style, and Rajput painting is crushed by the glamour of the Mughal court painters. In the middle and the late 17th century there is no longer any distinct Rajput pictorial art in Rajputana and Bundelkhand. The paintings which we generally ascribe to this time, are in reality products of the second quarter of the 18th century. But it is very probable that most of the works in the so-called "mixed Mughal-Rajput style" of the 17th century are nothing else but the real Rajput paintings of this period of greatest Mughal splendour. Only in such out of the way places like Basohli, Chamba, etc. the local schools are going on for some further decades, but they, too, are finally supplanted by a debased Mughal mannerism.

The famous Rajput art of the 18th and 19th centuries is, therefore, not a direct offspring of the earlier schools but a slow return from the dominating, all-pervading Mughal mannerism to the old national ideals. The literary family tradition of Mola Ram, his descent from artists come from the Mughal court, does not represent an exceptional case, it represents the rule! The art at all the Rajput courts at the moment of another independence from imperial hegemony is some sort of second-class Mughal architecture, painting, etc. With the growing isolation from the Delhi court the national artistic ideals more and more assert themselves but without discarding the technical capacities of the Mughal tradition. The technique of later Rajput painting is of Mughal origin (though we must not forget how much this Mughal tradition was indebted to the early Rajput art), but its aesthetic and life ideals are again purely Hindu. Nevertheless a great national style did not evolve before the end of the 18th century because the economic conditions of a period of continuous devastating warfare could not be favourable to the flourishing of art. Kangra art represents not the

but rather an early flower of later Rajput painting. Its economic and political basis is the temporary privileged position of the Panjab hill states in the period between the breakdown of the Mughals and the rise of the Sikhs has been well described by Coomaraswamy. In Rajputana and

Bundelkhand the flourishing period coincides with the years between the Pax Britannica and the coming of the Western cultural contact when the newly established peace rendered possible the cultivation of the arts, but when foreign cultural impressions and ideas did not yet upset the spirit of a well-balanced feudal society. Delhi, too, has seen a similar temporary cultural revival under Akbar II and Bahadur II. There are, of course, certain chronological divergences as on the one side the moment of this pacification lay between the end of the 18th century and that of the last Maratha war, and as on the other the growing predominance of Western economic, educational and artistic ideals began at very different periods though it came to be an undeniable fact only with the extension of the new railway system. Historians and connoisseurs have hitherto hesitated to admit such a late flourishing period of Indian art. This prejudice was based on two misconceptions: The aesthetic classicism of the 19th century which had been unable to appreciate the more refined and complicated qualities of late styles, either in the West or in the East; up to the present day this obsolete Victorian standard continues to exercise its devastating influence on Indian cultural life. Secondly, the idea that the artistic decline of a civilisation must coincide with its political and economic breakdown. But quite the opposite is the case; there is no valid reason to doubt the naked historical facts which reveal two flourishing times of Rajput art, one before the full maturity of Mughal civilisation, and another, very late one, after the breakdown of this same Empire and the pacification of the ensuing chaos. The finest flowers of Rajput painting and let us say, also of architecture, have blossomed in the years immediately following the end of Indian independence, as the ripest fruits of the Italian Renaissance have grown in the reign of the foreign emperor Charles V, with his German and Spanish mercenaries.

THE BHĀGAVATA MELA NĀTAKA

By V. RAGHAVAN

Writing in the eighth century, in the court of King Jayāpīḍa of Kaśmīr, Dāmodaragupta says that the presentation of the art of Nāṭya by courtezans killed the soul of the art¹. Dāmodaragupta's words will be echoed today when a discerning 'Sahṛdaya' witnesses a Nautch in the South in which the Naṭṭuvan presents through the Nautch girl ill-delineated and ill-interpreted emotions, rendered dry by mechanical elaborations miscalled 'kalpanā'. Fortunately the Naṭṭuvan and the Nautch girl are not the only repositories of our dance. It can be inferred that from the days of the Sanskrit drama, there were numerous bands of Brāhmaṇas devoted to the art of Nāṭya. Two such groups of Brāhmaṇa dancers have come down to this day, the Bhāgavatas of the Kūcipūḍi Agrahāra in the Āndhra and the Bhāgavatas of some Agrahāras in Tanjore district in the Tamil Nad². The earliest reference now known to mention the Brāhmaṇa Bhāgavatas of Kūcipūḍi who enacted dramas, is in the Kaiḥiyat of Mācupalle, Local Records 56, pp. 66 ff. belonging to the time of the Vijayanagar ruler Vīranarasimha, circa 1502 A. D.³. Though, as elsewhere, here also, it is found now only in an attenuated form, it is fortunate that Kūcipūḍi still preserves the art. The antiquity of the Brāhmaṇa Nāṭya tradition in the Tamil land cannot be exactly ascertained. The Cola inscriptions refer to a variety of drama called Āriyakūttu which was played in the temples and it is not difficult to see in this the Brāhmaṇa Mela and

1. *Trīṭha*, ed. T. M. Tripathi, verses 794-799.

2. See also my contributions on Theatre-Architecture, Kathakali, and Yakṣagana in the *Triveni*, Madras Vol. V, p. 339; Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 147-170 and Vol. 7, No. 2.

3. Dr. N. Venkataratnam, *Studies in the History of the III Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, Madras *Uchchala* Historical Series, pp. 462-3.

a Sanskritic, if not Sanskrit, tradition of plays and performance'. To this Āriyakkūttu we must relate the still surviving tradition of the Bhāgavata-mela Nāṭaka, found in Merattūr, Śūlamaṅgalam and Uttukkāḍu, three villages near Tanjore. This tradition was more widespread some decades back and now it is dying, if not dead, even at these three villages. One exponent however belonging to this Bhāgavata mela is still available for teaching the art, in the person of Bharatam Nallūr Nārāyaṇasvāmi Ayyar. The present writer has had opportunities to examine critically, the Kathakali, the Nautch and the Bhāgavata-mela Nāṭaka, and his intimate knowledge of the above mentioned Bharata Ācārya, Nallūr Nārāyaṇasvāmi Ayyar, has borne out the fact that in the Bhāgavata mela tradition, the Sanskrit Bharata Śāstra is authentically present. When this Bhāgavata expounds the theory, you hear the Bhāvaprakāśa, Rasamañjarī, the Abhinayadarpaṇa and other works quoted; verses from Amaruka you meet as he begins to illustrate.

Nallūr Nārāyaṇasvāmi Ayyar, in his early days, played the leading lady roles in the dramas in his village, Nallūr, chiefly the role of the celestial damsel Mohini in the play called Raktamāgoda and earned for himself the name 'Nallūr Mohini'. One of his chief merits is his ability to sustain the rhythm by the work of the left foot as dexterously as by that of the right. Though this dancer earned a name for himself in the role of Mohini, the saying in these parts some decades back was 'Hiraṇya of Nallūr, Līlāvatī of Uttukkāḍu and Prahlāda of Merattūr'. These characters pertain to the most celebrated play of these Bhāgavatas, the story of Prahlāda. The dramas are now completely dead at Nallūr, Śūlamaṅgalam, Tepparamānallūr and a few other places where they are said to have been performed once. These villages are full of memories of their past dance-barons: Śitarāma Bhāgavatar of Śūlamaṅgalam, Bharatam Venkateci Ayyar, Muttukṛṣṇa Ayyar, Rāmakṛṣṇa Ayyar, Sāmi Bhāgavatar and Haridraṭha Bhāgavatar of Uttukkāḍu. At the present time, the only elderly repository of this art at Śūlamaṅgalam is Svāmīnātha Bhāgavatar whose devotion to the art could not be impaired by his employment as a Headmaster in a Madras City School.

Merattūr, in a way, is the most important of these villages. In the days of the Tanjore kings, this village supplied the dancers who made up the Bhāgavata mela which the kings maintained along with the Nāṭṭavamela. In Merattūr was born Veṅkatarāma Bhāgavatar, son of Gopālakṛṣṇārya of the Śrīvatsa gotra. This Veṅkatarāma was a contemporary of the great Karaṇṭhi music composer Tyagaraya (A. D. 1759-1847) and was a composer of equal excellence as Tyagaraya. This poet gave a new life to the Bhāgavata mela Nāṭaka with his plays, the most celebrated of which is the Prahlādatoprīta. His other plays are

L. s. 154 of 1895, South Indian Inscriptions, iii. 202. Meeting in the theatre, Nāṭakaśālāi, of the temple at Tiruvīdaimarudur in Tanjore Dt., and arranging for Āriyakkūttu before the god in that temple by setting apart some land for Kittimāraikkāḍuṇ alai Tiruveḷ-apaḷocākkal, who had dance on seven occasions in the year.

b. 130 of 1925. Inscription at Tiruvāḍuturai in Tanjore Dt. Meeting in the great land to Kumaran Śrīkanyāṇ for acting 'the seven Aśkas of the Āriyakkūttu' on festival days. Temple there. Provision is herein made for the supply of rice flour, betel leaves and areca nuts, ghee for mixing co. xirium and turmeric (for the make-up). (K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, The Co. xirium and Turmeric Series, Appendix of summary of Inscriptions).

Markandeya, Hariscandra, Uśā, Rukmiṇī Kalyāṇa and Kamaśavadha. Those more acquainted with the Dutch tradition may recognise this composer if they are told that he is the author of *Svara-gati* in Rāga Hamsā. Both at Merattūr and Uttukkāḍu, there were plays before him. At the latter place, we have three older plays of inferior quality still being staged, *Rādhakṛṣṇavilāsa*, *Golla Bhāma* and *Satyabhāmā*. There is a *Pārvatī Kalyāṇa* composed by one *Veṅkaṭa Kavi* which is not only beautiful but contains rare Rāgas worth investigation.¹ All these plays are in Telugu which became the language of Karpatic music during the days of the Tanjore Kings, the Nāyaks and the Marattas. But earlier, at a village called Kōstāṇḍr, the Bhāgavatas were staging *Rukmāṅga* in Tamil for seven nights, which fact shows that the tradition of the Bhāgavata melas Nāṭaka in the Tamil villages is older than these Telugu plays.

Usually it is in the month of Vaiśākha that these plays are staged on the occasion of the Vasantotsava of the local temples. The mornings are marked by feasting; facing the deity a temporary platform is put up; in the evening, the deity is taken out in procession and established as the president in the Gopura-passage, facing the stage. The plays begin at about nine and last till dawn. The *Bhūpālā* is sung as the sun rises and the actors go round the village street, honoured at each house, and return to the deity in the Gopura-passage to worship Him. It is indeed this temple-connection that has enabled the art to live to this day. Remarkable indeed is the enthusiasm of the votaries of the art. Roles are handed down as family-properties². When we were witnessing *Prahlāda* at Uttukkāḍu, Līlāvati came from Bombay; the dancers in whose families the roles are handed down, return to their villages for the occasion though they may be employed in distant places. The mask of God Narasiṃha in the story of *Prahlāda* is in daily worship in the 'Narasiṃha family'; and the person who appears in this God's role fasts for the day and when He appears, thundering out of the pillar in the early hours of the morning, he oftentimes gets 'possessed'.

There are two singers who sing the songs of the play; a drummer, a player on the Tutti, the small pipe, and besides these, there is a text-reader, the *Grānthika* of the Sanskrit texts.

The plays open with *Toḍaya Maṅgalam*³, benedictory songs, so called since the days of Tālapākkam Annayya (15th cent. A. D.), his son and

1. MSS. of these plays are available and I possess a set of them.

2. In the village of Uttukkāḍu there is a mortgage bond, about sixty years old, in which the benedictory play of the Kōṣaṅgi, the religious clown, has pledged his role to another for some loan also.

3. Kathakali-enthusiasts wrongly suppose that the *Toḍayam* is something mysterious and peculiar to the Kathakali art.

grandson (circa 1520-80). After this, the *Koṇaṅgi*, a sort of religious clown appears; then, god *Gaṇeśa* is introduced and worshipped. Next appears the chamberlain of the royal hero of the play after which the hero enters. Every character is first described in a verse which the *Grānthika* reads in a single tone. At once the singers sing the 'introducing song' called *Prāveśikā* *Dhruvā* by *Bharata*, but here called simply '*Daru*'. The *Darus* and the other songs of these plays are very beautiful *Rāga*-creations; their slow movement and *Tāla* setting are specially suited for *Abhinaya*-interpretation and foot work. The *Ānandabhairavi*, *Devagāndhārī*, *Ahīrī*, *Nādanāmakriyā* of these plays still haunt my memory. In content, the *Daru* gives us an idea of who enters and in what mood and circumstance. Every character, be it a child or a tottering old man, a king, queen, or ascetic, has to enter dancing to the *Daru*. The whole action is in the form of songs, sung from behind and also by the character and rendered into *Abhinaya* by the character. In between these songs, prose links are read out by the *Grānthika*.

There are no scenic trappings. It is all *Bharata's Nāṭya dharmī*; masks there are; demons put on masks; but the most well-known mask is that of God *Narasimha*, the Man-Lion. *Yama* appears in the story of *Mārkaṇḍeya* in *Ūttukkāḍu* dancing on what is called a 'false-leg buffalo', a counterpart of the well-known Tanjore horse or false leg horse, a form of popular dance featuring in processions. The costumes at *Ūttukkāḍu* are more traditional than at other places where 'modern' taste has wrought havoc.

KUSĀNA ART IN THE FRANCIS HOPP MUSEUM AT BUDAPEST AND SOME RELATED ART PRODUCTS

By ZOLTAN de TAKACS



Mathurā was an old home of original Indian art. The Indoscythians, ruled by the Kuṣāna dynasty, on the contrary, formed a part of the great community of Northern Asiatic equestrian peoples and they were in touch with Innerasiatic, Iranian and even Roman culture. The Śakas, ruled by the Kṣatrapas and the Indoscythians, carried with them a new Iranian spirit into India. But the Iranian culture of the age of the Parthians and the dynasty of the Sasanians

decisively influenced also Eastern Europe, as far as it was ruled by Asiatic equestrian warriors, be they Iranians (Sarmatians and Alans) or Turanians (Huns and Avars)¹.

Some of the stone objects, which I publish here, are in several points analogous to bronze ornaments found in Hungary. For this reason I see in

1. Mr. Imre Schwaiger, an old and generous friend of the Francis Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts in Budapest, authorised me last year, while staying with him at Delhi, to select a number of art treasures from his rich and famous collection. I took the advantage of this rare opportunity, and selected for my Museum some relics of different periods of Indian, Nepalese, Tibetan, and even Chinese and also Japanese art and

Among them Schwaiger's presents there are also different kinds of Indian sculptures, which came mostly from Taxila and Mathurā. The Taxila ones represent the Gandhāra art. Those from Mathurā are of different ages, i. e. from the Kuṣāna and Gupta-periods, and some of later date. The objects referred to in the following lines are of the Kuṣāna period, if not stated otherwise.

these conformations an important proof that the finds from my country can not be very far in age from Kuṣāṇa art products. These conformations strengthen me in my conviction that the bronzes and other relics from the same finding places represent a craft, the development of which may be put at least in the third or fourth century A. D. and not later in the sixth century, as archaeologists generally think.

Among Mr. Schwaiger's gifts there are also terra-cottas, representing human figures belonging to different races. This is not at all surprising in these circumstances as almost all migrating Asiatic peoples must have consisted of different elements.

1. Pl. XIX, Fig. 1 shows the fragment of a relieve. Two men's heads in full face, with conical caps (bashliks) and pointed beards. Iranian types, like the Iranian warrior from Jauliāñ Monastery, in the Museum at Taxila. (Sir John Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, 1924, Pl. XXXVIII). Spotted red sandstone. 9, 5 : 10, 5 cm. Kṣatrapa or Kuṣāṇa.

2. Pl. XIX, Fig. 2. Man's head with high square 'kalpac' with two broad and two narrow sides. On the broad front-side perpendicular rows of pearls between laces and a lotus rosette. On the back-side diapers. Similar cap on the head of a horseman decorating the belt of the statue of King Caṣṭana in the Museum of Mathurā and illustrated on p. 171. Spotted red sandstone. 17, 2 : 2, 11 cm.

3. Pl. XIX, Fig. 3. Head and torso of Indo-Parthian's figure. On his head a bashlik. Bushy forelock over forehead. Red terra-cotta, 4, 1 : 3, 3 cm. Kṣatrapa.

4. Indo-Parthian's head with bashlik. Fragment 3, 4 : 2, 4 cm. Kṣatrapa.

5. Head of an Indo-Scythian (?) with a long neck made to be fixed in separate body. Mongolian type. Conical cap (bashlik) with a fragment of ornamented brim. Red terra-cotta. 8, 9 cm.

6. Āyāgapāṭa. Upper right quarter of the slab with the torso of a Jina seated. Over his head an umbrella with a garland over the right shoulder of the Jina, and a lotus under it. On the upper portion on the frame is a svastika composed of four bent and pointed leaves and four palm-leaves (Pl. XIX, Fig. 4), and the fragment of another similar svastika. On the side three symbols of good luck (aṣṭamaṅgala). Spotted red sandstone. 28, 5 : 30, 6 cm. (cf. A. K. Coomaraswamy : *History of Indian and Indonesian*



Art, pl. XIX, fig. 71). Svastikas of this kind on the belt of the statue of Caṣṭana in the Museum at Mathurā (see Fig. opposite). Cf. also svastikas composed of four leaves on bronze girdle ornaments of the Migration-period found in Hungary.

7. Fragment of a door-frame with reliefs. On its deeper left portion, at the bottom, in a small niche, the upper part of the figure of an armour-clad, turbaned warrior with a spear in his right hand. A similar spear is to be seen on the well-known large stone-statue of Kuvera (found at Takhal on the road from Peshawar to the Khyber Pass) and now in the Museum of Lahore. Similar spear-heads are to be found among the Dark Age relics of Hungary (J. Hampel, *Altertümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn*, I, figs. 443, 445, 448). Over the head of the figure a 'kūḍu', above it a railing forming the fundament of an upper niche, with the two bare feet of a standing figure. On the left side of the fragment, in a double frame, stylised leaves. On the raised right portion of the slab a scroll with treble palm leaves, and fruits. Similar palm-leaves on bronze girdle-pendants and other belt ornaments found in Hungary (Migration period).

8. Fragment of the capital of a column with a small cylindrical bit of the column. Four winged lions on a square plate. On two opposite sides, between the lions, a diapered rug. Spotted red sandstone. 15 ; 11, 6 ; 12 cm. Similar capitals on Āyāgapaṭas. See : A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. XIX, figs. 71, 72. The lions' heads suggest griffins, like the Parthian representations of winged lions. See : Walter Andrae, *Hatra*, I, Pl. IV ; II, Pl. XIX, XX. and Kozloff, *Comptes rendus des expéditions pour l'exploration du Nord de la Mongolie*, Leningrad, 1925, figs. 2 and 7.

9. Pl. XIX, Fig. 5. Fragment of a figure. Left arm, leg, and chest completely, right leg partly missing. Right hand on navel. Belt with pearly rosette on waist. Persian hat (bashlik) on head. Red terra-cotta, 7, 4 cm. Cf. the clay-figures of monkeys found by Sir Aurel Stein in Eastern Turkestan. "Ancient Chotan", Vol. II, Pl. XLVII, Y, 0012, a, III, Y, 0025. Kṣatrapa.

10. Pendant. Perhaps Hunnish work. From Mongolia. Man's figure. Same full face representation on both sides. Both legs of the standing man crossed. Right hand on navel, left hand under chest. Mongolian type with prominent cheek-bones. Coronet(?) on forehead. Small handle on top. Pale red bronze, 3, 8 cm. Bought in Peking.

11. Lotuspetalshaped girdle-pendant. Persepolitan style. Cf. the pedestal from the palace of Artaxerxes Mnemon II (404-358 B. C.) in Le Louvre, Fr. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persiens*, plate 36, the lotus-capital of the Aśokan column at Sarnāth and some girdle-ornaments from the Migration period found in Qyzil, Grotto 13. see : Takacs, *L'art des grandes migrations en Hongrie et en Extrême Orient*, *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, 1931, fig. 3) and in Hungary.

12. Lower end of a girdle-pendant. Chinese work. (Han period ?) Dragon's head. Its upper part behind eyes and mouth broken. Curved jaws, like those of the dragons on some stone reliefs from the Han-period, Tsinan Museum, and of the dragon heads on Gandhāra necklaces. Small hole at the end of the plate. Gilt red bronze, 3, 7 cm. Bought in Sianfu. Cf. this and No. 11 with the girdle-pendants of the Kuṣāṇa period Mathurā, Museum, and of the time of the great Migrations.

13. Fragment of a relief. Stūpa with a railing, Torāṇa, and staircase-pedestal from which the stūpa is broken. In the Torāṇa a Dhyāni Buddha seated. Spotted red sandstone, 16 ; 21, 5 cm.

14. Fragment of a Bacchanalian Nāga. His upper body turned to the right. A bit of his right arm lifted. His left arm bent, in the hand a beaker. His head-ornament fragmentary with snake heads behind. Spotted red sandstone, 28 : 21, 5 cm.

15. Fragment of Bacchanalian Kuvera, with jewelry on his neck, ears, and wrists. Turbaned head ; upper arms covered by scarf. In his left hand a goblet ; his left elbow leans against a column in Indian style. Spotted red sandstone, 19 ; 22 cm.

16. Bodhisattva in prayer. Fragment of a standing figure. Both hands folded. Jewelry on his naked upper body. Both legs covered with folded garment. Turbaned head. His right lower arm and hand, the front and right side of his turban missing. Red terra-cotta, 8, 9 cm.

17. Fragment of Maitreya Bodhisattva (?). Figure seated, with his two hands in his lap. On his neck a triple chain with buckles. In his ears two



large pendants. His face damaged, his lower body detached and damaged. Hollow inside. Red terra-cotta, 7, 2 cm.

18. Pl. XIX, Fig. 6. Half-figure of a man. Fragment. On his head a turban with ornaments of pearls and rosettes. On his neck a broad ribbon, in his left ear a ring. Gray earthenware. 7, 1 ; 4, 6 cm.

19. Man's bust. Fragment. Arms missing. Turbaned head. Round the neck a scarf. Red terra-cotta. 6, 9 cm.

20. Fragment of a man's head. In his right ear a heavy pendant. His eyebrows beetled, his hair curled. Spotted red sandstone 8, 7 ; 7 cm.

21. Fragment of a man's head with moustaches and with pendant in right ear. Eye-brows beetled, with a mark in the centre above. Turban with front-ribbons. Spotted red sandstone. 6, 7 ; 4, 5 cm.

22. Fragment of a man's head. Eye-brows beetled, above them a round mark in the centre. Round turban ending into pointed top. Spotted red sandstone. 6, 4 ; 3, 5 cm.

23. Fragment of a man's head. Low forehead with eye-brows beetled. Large eyes. Small moustache. Mouth half-opened. Nose and left ear broken. Red terra-cotta. 6, 7 ; 7 cm.

24. Head of a youth. Beetled eyebrows. Turban with a rosette above the forehead. Large earrings. Spotted red sandstone.

25. Fragment of a head. Pointed small chin, pointed long nose, large eyes, markedly cut eye-brows, projecting right ear, left ear missing. Six breaches on head, owing to three drillings. Small mouth. Red terra-cotta. 4, 7 cm.

26. Fragment of woman's head. Her hair combed back and tied together between her shoulders. On both sides of hair rows of pearls. Fragments of large pendants. Spotted sandstone. 6, 1 ; 4, 9 cm.

27. Pl. XIX, Fig. 7. Fragment of a woman's head. Pendants in both ears, round mark in the centre above. Hair unbound with a forelock combed back on top. Spotted red sandstone. 5 ; 5, 1 cm.

28. Fragment of a woman's head (Yakṣī?). Her eye-brows beetled with a mark in the centre above. In her two ears heavy pendants. Her flowing hair combed back on top. Fragment of the crown of a fruit-tree round her head. Spotted red sandstone, 8, 6 ; 7, 8 cm.

29. Pl. XIX, Fig. 8. Fragment of a woman's head. Beribboned hair

parted on top. A pendant in her right ear. Her right eye damaged. Red terra-cotta. 9, 4 ; 8, 2 cm.

30. Hand holding a small vase. Fragment of 'Maitreya Bodhisattva' with bracelet, ornamented with rings. Red terra-cotta 4, 1 ; 3, 5 cm.

31. Fragment of a relieve. Dancer's figure (from waist to ankles). Legs crossed in front. On her hip a belt the end of which reaches in front to the middle of her legs. Red terra-cotta. 7, 7 cm.



THE SĪGIRIYA FRESCOES

By A. H. LONGHURST

Sīgiriya (Lion-hill) is a huge isolated gneiss rock rising abruptly 600 feet above the forest-clad plain 10 miles north-east of Dambulla in the Matale District. It was on the summit of this hill towards the end of the fifth century Kassapa I, the parricide king of Ceylon, took refuge, making it his capital yet ever "living in fear of the other world and Moggallana," his brother and successor, at whose hands he ultimately met the just retribution of his crime. After Kassapa's death, the capital was transferred to Anurādhapura and Sīgiriya was handed over to the Buddhist Order.

The base of the hill is broad and spreading and covered with forest whilst the middle portion rises almost vertically in the form of rugged cliffs surmounted by a mass of overhanging rock on the summit of which is a plateau containing the ruins of Kassapa's citadel (Pl. XX).

The rock was quite inaccessible until Kassapa decided to have his palace on its summit and to accomplish this, his engineers constructed a winding pathway or gallery along the west face of the rock up to a natural terrace on the north side half-way up the hill. It was here, where the colossal brick and plaster "Lion Staircase House" was built, from which the hill derives its name. The object of this enormous structure was to serve as a staircase to ascend the vertical face of the rock and to provide permanent quarters for a military guard at this important point. It was built of brick and plaster in the form of a recumbent lion fifty or sixty feet in height. When first discovered it was a crumbling mass of decayed brickwork overgrown with jungle. When the debris was removed the entrance to the staircase which was between the lion's paws and led up through its body and out at the back of its neck was discovered, along with the remains of its huge fore-paws which have recently been repaired to save them from further decay and to help the visitor to visualize the size and nature of this building (Pl. XXI).

The narrow gallery was continued upwards above the lion's head until the summit of the rock was reached. It was constructed by cutting steps or ledges in the face of the rock on which the foundations of a brick parapet wall were built. The gallery itself was paved with stone slabs and provided with steps and landings where necessary; a truly wonderful feat of engineering skill that must have entailed a prodigious amount of labour. The monsoon rains of fifteen centuries have left nothing remaining of this portion of the gallery except the rock-cut ledges along which the visitor now has to grope his way up the face of the rock with the aid of a stout iron-railing with iron steps here and there, until he reaches the plateau on top of the rock. The whole of this plateau was once covered with brick and plaster buildings, comprising a palace, courtyards, houses for officials and members of the royal household etc., and enclosed by a stout brick wall on the very edge of the rock. A plentiful supply of rain water was collected by means of artificial tanks constructed in natural depressions in the surface of the rock. The latter being of different levels, innumerable flights of stone steps radiating from a central point, led to the various buildings. Needless to relate, being situated in such an exposed position and abandoned for centuries, all the buildings have perished, their sites being indicated by ruined brick walls and foundations only.

About a hundred yards of the gallery only remains intact and is from 4 to 5 feet in width with a high brick parapet wall covered with highly polished plaster. A drip-ledge cut along the brow of the overhanging rock to prevent rain water flowing down the face of the cliff into the passage below has done much to preserve this portion of the gallery which has recently been repaired and is now in a good state of preservation.

Sigiriya is known to many people who have never visited Ceylon on account of its famous frescoes which are executed in a similar style to the Ajanṭā paintings of about the seventh century A. D. They are painted on the plastered walls of a natural cavern which is divided by a ridge into two small chambers, or 'pockets' as they are usually called, in the western face of the rock about 50 feet above the gallery floor. To reach this chamber, one has to climb up an almost vertical iron ladder, requiring good nerves and strong arms so that many visitors, especially ladies, cannot enjoy the pleasure of examining the frescoes on the spot. Considering their historical importance and the fact that they are the only ancient paintings in



Ceylon of outstanding artistic merit, it is very desirable that a better approach to them be provided as soon as possible.

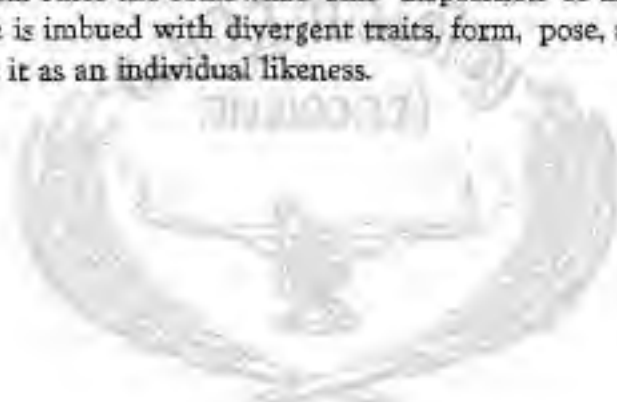
The paintings were executed on a carefully prepared surface of shell-lime plaster mixed with rice water about a quarter of an inch thick laid on a bed half an inch in thickness composed of a mixture of clay and kaolin strengthened with rice-husks. In accordance with the usual Indian practice, the figures were first outlined in red and then painted in colours. Only three pigments were used—yellow, red, and green; though traces of black and "opaque white" are discernible here and there. The omission of blue is remarkable, for this colour enters freely into the contemporary paintings at Ajanṭā. The brown shading employed to emphasize the contours of face and limbs seems to have been produced by mixing a little black with the red pigment. The original red outline was also strengthened where necessary, with the same brown colour to make the figures stand out clearly.

The frescoes consist of twenty one half-figure portraits, all female. Of these, five are in 'pocket A,' and sixteen in the larger chamber B. The figures in 'pocket B' are a trifle larger than life-size whilst those in pocket A are less, a divergence due to lack of wall space. The predilection for the three-quarter face is conspicuous and in striking contrast to the weak conventional "profiles" of later Sinhalese artists. Of the score of faces left only three are in profile. A careful comparison of the paintings with those found in the Buddhist cave-temples at Ajanṭā proves beyond question that artists trained in the same school executed both the Indian and Ceylon frescoes. Dress and ornament, pose and colouring, are common to both alike.

Owing to the concave form of the back wall and roof of the chamber, the Sīgiriya figures are not in full-length, but cut off below the waist by cloud effects. The conformation of the rock left the artists no option but to omit the lower limbs so as to avoid ugly distortion of the figures. Considerable ingenuity was exercised in putting to full use the badly adapted wall surface so as to exhibit to the best advantage a series of half-figure portraits ranged in possibly three rows originally. The scene intended to be portrayed seems to be a procession of the queens and princesses of King Kassapa's Court, with their attendants, on the way to worship at the Buddhist temple at Piduragala, the hill about a mile north

of Sîgiriya. The figures are all depicted walking in that direction, and the flowers held in the hands of the ladies, and carried for them by serving-maids, can hardly bear any other signification.

Grouping in pairs is chiefly favoured, usually a queen, or princess, attended by a lady-in-waiting of the same, or kindred blood ; or by a dark-skinned maid of alien race. The latter are usually given an olive green complexion which clearly distinguishes them from their royal mistresses, whether light-yellow "blondes" or orange-hued "brunettes"—all three coloured types reproduced frequently at Ajanṭā. A profusion of ornament is affected equally by queen or serving-maid. The type of feature is mainly Aryan—oval face, full lips, but straight, almost Grecian, nose and forehead. The "almond eyes" of one lady betoken a strain of Mongolian blood. The paintings appear to be for the most part "portraits." Conventionalism rules the somewhat stiff disposition of arms and hands ; yet each figure is imbued with divergent traits, form, pose, and dress, which seem to stamp it as an individual likeness.





NOTE ON PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURES IN TRAVANCORE

By R. V. PODUVAL

Travancore is one of the most ancient Hindu States in India, rich in temples in which are preserved much of the archaeological, historical and artistic relics of the State. The treasures of art were recently brought to light by the Archaeological Department and they consist mainly of sculptures in stone, images in bronze, mural paintings and wood carvings. The paintings so far discovered show a well-established pictorial tradition. The earliest relics of mural paintings are found on the walls of the rock cut cave temple at Tiruhandikkara in South Travancore. The hall inside the cave measures 18 feet in length and 8 ft. 3 ins. in width and its wall seem to have been once richly decorated with paintings which through successive centuries of neglect and vandalism are at present more or less wiped out. The outlines of three figures however, Śiva, Pārvatī and a devotee and of a 'kaṭaka mudrā' hand are even now well preserved. These frescoes are precious relics of antiquity belonging to the 9th century A. D., the like of which have not hitherto been discovered in Travancore.

Fresco paintings belonging to the 11th and 12th centuries A. D. were in existence on the walls and ceiling of the Suchindram temple and also on the walls of the Cape Comorin temple till about 1916, but unfortunately they were demolished in the repairs and the reconstruction of those temples in the course of which even the few traces available were entirely wiped out. Important relics of 14th century paintings belonging to the reign of Āditya Varma Sarvāṅganātha, a king of Travancore renowned as a patron of art and letters are seen on the walls of the shrines of Kṛṣṇa inside the Śrī Padmanābhasvāmī temple, Trivandrum, which comprise figures of women dressed in different kinds of drapery and wearing many varieties of jewellery. Their headdresses are particularly graceful. One

panel in it relates to a music party. By far the most important of mural paintings in Travancore is the one of Naṭarāja's dance on the Gopura of the temple at Ettumanur in North Travancore. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy says that "it is the oldest specimen of Dravidian painting." It is the biggest wall painting so far discovered in Travancore measuring 12' in length and 8' in breadth. There is no possibility of fixing its exact date on account of paucity of evidence; but an inscription in the temple engraved on the base of the circular Garbhagṛha records that the repairs to the temple were begun in the Kollam year 717, i. e. 1542 A. D., and the purification ceremony was performed in Kollam 720 i. e. 1545 A. D. The paintings on the Gopura may, therefore, be ascribed to that period.

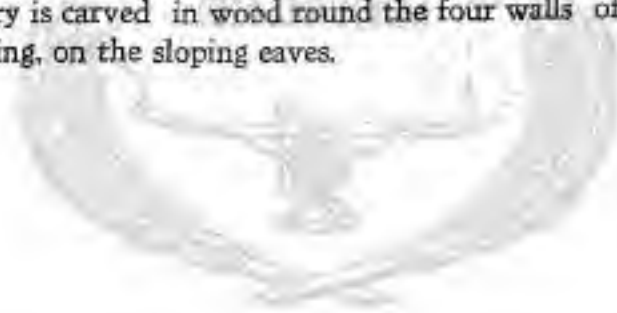
Equally important are the mural paintings on the walls of the top-most floor of the three storied Palace at Padmanābhapuram, the ancient capital of Travancore, the existence of which was brought to light recently by the Department of Archaeology in the State. They are in a state of good preservation and are masterly designed and wonderfully fresh and unmutilated. The figures painted are mythological, the most important of them being the panels of Harihara, Ardhanārīśvara, Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Pārvatī. They belong to the late 16th century and have a rigid conventionality in their execution. Almost to the same period belong the paintings on the walls of the Pazhur temple, illustrative of almost the same artistic tradition. A consummation of achievement in pictorial art is seen on the walls of the Garbhagṛha of the Śrī Padmanābhasvāmi temple belonging to the early part of the 18th century. These paintings are executed in purely native style and are perhaps the latest record of indigenous painting of the best sort on a somewhat large scale.

More ancient sometimes than the mural paintings are the fine specimens of old sculptures that are found in a few of the important temples of the State in stone, bronze and wood. Excellent stone sculptures of some antiquity are seen at the Sthānūnāthasvāmi temple, Suchindrum, the Nīlakaṇṭhasvāmi temple at Padmanābhapuram and at the Śrī Padmanābhasvāmi temple, Trivandrum; while splendid examples of wood work are found in the temples of Kaviyur, Thuravur, Pazhur, Valapally, Chunakkara, Vettikulangara, Onakkur and Tirumaradi. Fine bronzes of Śiva, Pārvatī, Ceraṁanperumal and Śivite saints are preserved in the temple at Suchindrum, and a few are also seen at the temples at Pārakkay,

Darsanamcope, Padmanābhapuram and Trivandrum. Of these bronzes, those at Suchindrum are the most important and the most ancient available in the State. They belong roughly to the 11th and 12th centuries A. D. The Suchindrum temple is also a splendid store house of fine stone sculptures. There are in it not only the sculptured images of gods, but also the portrait sculptures of King Mārttānda Varma (15th Century) and Tirumala Nāyyak.

Lastly, the wood carvings with which the temples at Pazhur, Thuravur, Onakkur, Tirumaradi, Valapally, Chunakkara, Vettikulangara and the Rāmasvāmikoil temple at Padmanābhapuram are enriched, are also characteristic of old workmanship and illustrate with great intricacy and finish various Purāṇic scenes and figures from the Bhāgavata, Rāmāyaṇa, Halasya Māhātmya and Mahābhārata. They belong to different periods dating from the 16th to the 18th centuries A. D.

The best specimens of these works of art are found at Vettikulangara, and Rāmasvāmikoil temple at Padmanābhapuram where the whole Rāmāyaṇa story is carved in wood round the four walls of the temple just below the ceiling, on the sloping eaves.



PAINTINGS FROM LEPAKSHI

By C. SIYARAMAMURTI

The standard of workmanship in sculpture or painting at the court of a sovereign at any particular period in history can be judged by the work of the masters in the employ of noblemen under the king. This refers also to the art in the Empire of Vijayanagar which is the last link in a tradition which succeeded the classical mode of painting under the Pallavas and Colas. The Vijayanagar paintings may lack the flow and gliding curvature of line that go to form the easy and yet majestic contour in the Pallava paintings; may lack the rapid movement of agitated curves, the variety of poses and detailed ornamentation in Cola paintings; yet they have an undertone of the characteristics of both conventionalised though they are and degenerating.

The paintings at Lepakshi are not the only heritage of the painter's art left by the Vijayanagara monarchs to posterity. They are however almost the best preserved relics of Vijayanagara painting of the first half of the sixteenth century. Some of these were photographed by me recently at Lepakshi and they form the subject of this paper. The paintings are those from the ceiling of the Ardhamandapa immediately adjoining the Raṅgamaṇḍapa which I have described but without adequate illustrations in my previous paper on the subject¹. Ages of soot and smoke have darkened the once bright hues of the paintings, and what peeps out from under the dark film is all that we can hope to record with the help of the camera.

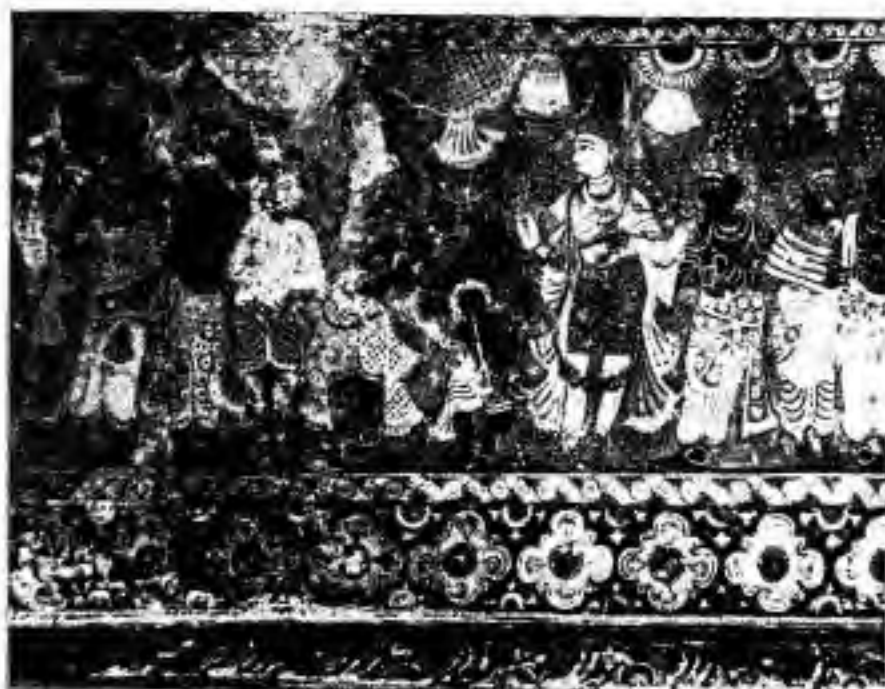
The sons of Nandilakkiseṭṭi were zealous devotees of Śiva in his terrible aspect of Vīrabhadra; and it is their untiring effort that brought into being the magnificent temple of Vīrabhadra on the Kūrmasāila which

1. Vijayanagara Paintings from the Temple at Lepakshi, Vijayanagara Sixcentenary Commemorative Volume, pp. 73-85.



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once embraced within its parapet the entire present village of Lepakshi. The painters have immortalised their patrons, Virappa and Virupappa, the chieftain brothers who represented the emperor from their seat at the once prosperous Lepakshi. The wealth of Śivite iconographic forms painted on the ceiling of the temple speaks of the great devotion of the brothers towards their tutelary deity. The paintings now to be described are all representations of Śiva in some special iconographic form.

Pl. XXII, Fig. 1 shows Śiva killing the demon of ignorance whose dismal colour is a striking contrast to the lustrous white of the Divine Destroyer. Agitation in the one and calm in the other are obvious. Bhaktas on either side adore Andhakāsurasamhāramūrti.

The Divine Teacher (Pl. XXII, Fig. 2) seated on a hillock under the sacred tree to expound the mystic depths of philosophic truths to sages whose lives have been an example of untiring devotion to the study of the most profound problems of life, is shown with a serene face. The 'yogapaṭṭa' that runs around his right leg which rests on his left and the easy way in which the lower right hand comes over the knee mark him as Yogadakṣiṇāmūrti. Around him are a host of devotees, all adoring him.

The divine grace of the boon-conferring Lord is clearly to be seen in a painting (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1) where he is depicted as giving away one of his weapons to his devotee. Caṇḍeśa is shown receiving with humility the divine axe that the deity so kindly presents him, the steward of his household, as the insignium of his office. There is a 'gaṇa' between the two figures blowing a long bugle and announcing the great gift to devotees that throng to see the noble sight. The staff that the Brahmin boy Vicāraśatma used to help him in his duties as cowboy, turned into an axe by divine miracle when, forgetting himself in his anger he dealt a blow and cut off the leg of even his father when he kicked the Śivaliṅga which he delighted in bathing with the milk of the cows he tended. In the Śivabhaktaviḷāsa it is given that Śiva said "Dattādhipatyam maddvāri śāśvatam testu"—you are given command at the gate of my household. The insignium of that office is the axe that he is shown carrying in every stone sculpture and metal image that represents him. The giving of the weapon is not especially mentioned; but we know the circumstances under which Caṇḍeśa got his weapon and his name. The usual sculptural

representations of Caṇḍeśānugrahamūrti of which the one from Gangai-kondasolapuram is famous, show him as adorning his devotee's head with a garland of flowers as a mark of his grace. The Uttarakāmikāgama, Pūrvakāraṇāgama and Śilparatna agree in giving this description. The sculpture at Kailāsanātha's shrine at Conjeevaram gives the scene of Caṇḍeśa cutting off the leg of his father who insulted the object of his worship. But here in this painting the painter has used his imagination somewhat freely and taken the liberty of depicting Śiva in an entirely new 'anugraha' attitude. Instead of his offering a flower garland he offers the insignium of his office, the axe that is shown so prominently in all representations of Caṇḍeśa.

The lovely beggar (Pl. XXIV) who begged for alms and created passion in the breasts of the most saintly women that spent their austere life in hermitages far from human habitation pledged to a life of celibacy with their ascetic husbands, is here shown proceeding slowly and gracefully. In his hand is his begging bowl and into it the wife of some great sage is emptying a ladle full of rice but her mind is far from tranquil and there are visible signs of her passion for the supremely beautiful beggar ; the other woman is eagerly waiting to repeat what her companion has done. A dwarfish 'gaṇa' groans under the weight of a basin filled to the brim with alms already procured. The deer jumps in admiration of its master's fascinating beauty. There are as usual the devotees of Bhikṣātānamūrti.

The Lord as the creator and the destroyer, two aspects in one form is the theme of the painting in the next scene (Pl. XXIV). The dark half of Viṣṇu's form makes a central line against the fair half of Śiva's body ; either shows the marked features and characteristics of the respective deities. Devotees as usual adore Hariharamūrti.

The Saviour of the three worlds who in the warrior's 'ālīḍha' attitude rode the strangest chariot to conquer the Tripuras is shown in painting (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 2). The chariot runs on wheels that are no other than the sun and the moon. The horses are the four Vedas and the charioteer is Brahmā. The weapons chosen by Śiva to destroy these formidable demons are no less significant. As he bends his bow, mount Sumeru, twangs the bowstring in the hiss of Vāsuki, and off goes the arrow, which shape Viṣṇu himself has assumed for the destruction of the Tripuras.



The picture shows the defeat and downfall of the Tripuras. Admiring devotees are painted beside Tripurāntakamūrti.

Gaṅgā in the locks of Śiva angers terribly Gaurī and her anger has to be appeased by her spouse. His efforts at that delicate task is shown in an excellent picture of Gaṅgādhara. The jealous anger of the Khaṇḍita nāyikā and the eager submission and appealing attitude of the Śaṭha nāyaka are well portrayed here. The later treatment of this iconographic form of which this is a good example is in accordance with texts like the *Amsūmadbheda* and *Śilparatna*, but the charm of a small domestic squabble is absent from earlier representations by artists from the court of the Pallavas.



COSMICAL HOMOLOGY AND YOGA

By MIRCEA ELIADE

In a recent book about the origins of Indian mysticism¹ I tried to show that the ascetical practices and the mystical-physiological technics, known by the generic term of Yoga, have all a common character: a tendency towards the concrete. That is to say, all these practices and technics give a capital importance to "experience", to experimental realization of the stages of deliverance. There is no form of Yoga in which "practice", "realization" and "experience" would not play a prevailing part. Of course these "experiences" may have different structures. In a devotional kind of Yoga it is mystical experience which predominates. When we have to do with a "philosophical" Yoga, then it is the ascetic-contemplative ("magical") technic that is predominant. I have discussed all these forms of Yoga in my book and it is not necessary to return to them here.

Still I should like to draw attention to the meaning of the term 'tendency towards the concrete' in connection with these forms of Indian spirituality. This tendency towards the concrete, the effort towards the "real", means a way out from daily, profane, insignificant, "illusory" experience in which man lives until he decides to obtain his deliverance through Yoga. Profane life is "illusory" not only for Vedāntic philosophy—but for every mystical or metaphysical system. Only "the sacred" is truly "real", whatever the meaning of this word may have been in the course of history. All that which exists beyond the sacred zone is "unreal", that is to say ephemeral, insignificant, relative. The Indian post-Vedic spirituality can no longer realize the "sacred", the absolute, through sacrifices and rituals. For reasons which have been examined in the book mentioned above²—the magic of gesture and of speech can no longer be satisfactory. We then

1. Yoga. Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne (Paris, Ed. Geuthner, 1966).

2. Yoga, op. cit. p. 102 sq.

witness the beginnings of a spiritual revolution of large proportions which to this day has not been concluded. A series of mystical reforms and of metaphysical speculations are trying to discover the "real," the absolute, the ultimate reality elsewhere than in sacrifices in which the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas used to find it. It is easily noticeable that all these Indian spiritual revolutions have a common character: indifference towards, and even vehement critique of ritualism. The Upaniṣadas, the Parivrājakas, Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra, Buddha, the "yogins" and ascetics of the different sects contemporary with the Buddhist movement do not believe anymore in the efficiency of Vedic ritual. They all seek for and find the "real", the "sacred", the absolute, in an "interiorization" of the sacrifice¹. For these reformers, ascetics and mystics, the gestures and ritual formulas were "abstract", "dead", "illusory". This tendency towards the "concrete" characterizes all mystical and ascetical Indian movements. In my book on 'Yoga' I have shown that this thirst for "experience" and "reality" is displayed more obviously in the mediaeval devotional schools, in Tantrism, mystical physiology, alchemy and mystical erotics.

The preliminary practices of yoga, just like the preliminaries of any other ascetical practices try before everything else to draw away the yogin from the evanescent and painful becoming of the universal life so as to enable him to find his own centre.

The Universe, for a yogin, is not an appearance, as it is for the Vedāntist. But it is just as insignificant and dangerous. This ocean of forms and psycho-mental experiences is, exactly as it is for the Vedānta and for all Indian thought, the source of pain, the cause of the soul's "slavery". Man suffers because he participates in a pluriform and dynamical, that is to say "profane" world. The road to deliverance is the road towards the "real". But the "real" cannot be found in plurality, in the "profane" and in "becoming". Reality, we know this from the whole of the religious history of India, and we shall return to it, is "one", it is static, sacred.

The isolation of the yogin², his continual purifications³, 'ekāgratā'

1. Ibid. p. 179 sq.

2. Yogasūtrasaṃgraha, II, 35-38, etc.

3. Yoga-sūtras, II, etc.

4. Yoga-sūtras, III, 11, etc.

'āsana',¹ 'prāṇāyama'²—all these long and difficult practices³ have one supreme aim: to unify. Everything that is multifarious is fragile, ephemeral, painful. The tendency towards unification is easily noticed in all the yoga practices. The most difficult is the unification of breathing, 'prāṇāyama'. Instead of the usual, irregular breathing, the yogin obtains a rhythmical, uniform breathing. He can unify even the 4 "species" of breath: the breathing of the waking state, the breathing of dreamy sleep, of dreamless sleep and of the cataleptic state 'turiya'. These "states" are, in normal conditions, discontinuous. The yogin tries to unify them, to obtain a continuity of the respiratory rhythm, realizing at the same time the continuity and the unification of the states of consciousness⁴. This unification of breath brings about a unification of consciousness, for, as Bhoja⁵ states, "all the functions of the organs are preceded by that of the breath", and there is always "a correlation of breath and mind in their respective functions". Other yoga practices betray the tendency to an unification of the body; the 'āsanas' do not only tend to give the body a statical posture with the minimum of effort so as to render concentration easier, but try to give a perfect "unity" to the body. Haṭhayoga, as one knows, asserts that a healthy body can help very much towards emancipation⁶. But a healthy body means first of all a whole, "total" body. Daily experience knows of a body composed of limbs, "parts" and joints. The yogin tries to unify his body, to obtain a "total" presence of the body. That is why so many of the Haṭhayoga practices are aiming at a control over the muscles which in the normal condition are under the rule of the vegetative system. Certain texts of Haṭhayoga speak about how the breath must be "drawn" from one organ and lead through the whole body, like a circuit. The tradition of these technics is undoubtedly much older, and they are to be found even in texts of large circulation, as for instance the Mahābhārata.

"Fixing the vital breaths 'prāṇa' and 'apāna' and 'samāna' and 'udāna' and

1. Y. S. II, 46, etc.

2. Y. S. II, 49; Bhoja, ad YS. I, 34, etc.

3. Yoga, op. cit. p. 65 sq.

4. Ibid. p. 63, sq.

5. Ad YS. I, 34.

6. Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā, I, 8.

'vyāna' in the heart, they concentrate the mind in 'prāṇa' and 'apāna' united together. They then placed the two united breaths in the abdomen, and directed their gaze to the tip of the nose and then immediately below the eyebrows. They next held the two breaths, with the help of the mind, in the spot between the two eyebrows, bringing them there very gradually. With bodies perfectly inactive, they were absorbed in fixed gaze. Having control over their souls, they then placed the soul within the brain....¹ Similar technics are to be met with in Islamic mysticism. Here is, according to Hughes², the beginning of a 'zikr jalī' (that which is recited aloud) as given in the book 'Qaulu'l-Jamil', by Maulawi Shāh Waliyu'llah of Delhi: "The worshipper sits in the usual sitting posture and shouts the word 'Allāh', drawing his voice from his left side and then from his throat. Sitting as for prayers, he repeats the word 'Allāh' still louder than before, first from his right knee, and then from his left side. Folding his legs under him he repeats the word 'Allāh' first from his right knee and then from his left side, still louder !...etc."³

Rhythmical breathing, as a means of unifying itself and of obtaining a "total presence" of the body, and further to realize mental concentration (unification) was practised also in the Taoist circles. Professor Marcel Granet sums up admirably the functions of rhythmical breathing (breathing "à la manière d'un embryon") in Chinese asceticism and mystics. "If one wants to avoid passion and dizziness, one must learn to breathe not only through the throat but with the whole body beginning from the soles of the feet. This kind of breathing alone, deep and silent, refines and enriches the substance. Besides, this breathing is prescribed as well during "hibernation" as during "extasy". In breathing with one's neck bent or extended, one might get to "lamine", if I may say so, the breath, and draw the quintessence of its vivifying power. The supreme aim is to establish a kind of "interior circulation" of the vital principles so that the individual may

1. Mokṣadharmā, ch. 200, 17-19.

2. Dictionary of Islam, London 1885, p. 703 sq.

3. Cf. Yoga, op. cit. p. 215 sq; L. Massignon, 'Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane' (Paris 1922) p. 88 sq; 'Al-Hallaḡ, Martyr mystique de l'Islam' (Paris, 1922) vol. I, p. 340 sq.

4. Chinese alchemy has assimilated all these breathing technics: cf. 'Yoga' p. 269; my book on Asiatic Alchemy (Bucuresti 1935, vol. I, passim).

remain "perfectly impervious" and may stand the immersion without injury. One becomes "impervious, autonomous, invulnerable, as soon as one masters the art of feeding and breathing in a closed circuit, in the way of an embryo". It is evidently a question of obtaining a perfectly closed body, impermeable, exactly like the Cosmos which, as one knows, was conceived by all the oriental cultures² as a perfectly closed sphere (in Buddhism, the image of Cosmos was a drop of water).

It is not at all difficult to notice that these yoga practices which aim at the unification of the body, of the breath and of the yogin's stream of consciousness maintain the mental orientation of the Vedic traditions. For what else is this "unified breathing" which passes through the human body and sustains it but the physiological correspondence of the World's axis, the Tree of Life which sustains the Universe? Exactly as Indra, who personifies the axis of the Universe, separates day from night, the Earth from the Sky and makes the Cosmos "be"—so does the unified breath play its part as the pillar of the human body³. The description of Buddha's body contains the same symbolism. Buddhaghosa, commenting on a paragraph in *Mahāpadāna* and *Lakkhaṇa Suttanta*s, says that Buddha "will not stoop nor lean backwards, nor have a crooked spine, but tower up symmetrically." The same Buddhaghosa explains thus a text from the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*: "Buddhas were accustomed on looking backwards, to turn the whole body round as an elephant does, because the bones in their neck were firmly fixed"⁴. The symbolism of "fixity," of "adamantine nature" is expressed here in terms of mystical anatomy. Buddha, centre of reality, himself is represented by rigid, static iconographical formulae.

The unified breathing obtained through 'prāṇāyama' makes a man 'real' because it gives him his own centre, and suspends his blind participation

1. Granet, *La pensée chinoise* (Paris, 1934) 514 sq.

2. A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* (ed. II, Berlin 1929) p. 190 sq.

3. Paul Mus, *Barabudur* (Paris 1935) t. I, p. 454. On the symbolism of the Tree of Life and the Axis of the Universe, cf. Mus, *Barabudur*, p. 117 sq.; Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography* (Cambridge 1935) p. 82; A. J. Wensinck, *The Ideas of the Western Semites concerning the Navel of the Earth* (Amsterdam 1916), p. 6 sq.; Uno Holmberg, *Der Baum des Lebens* (*Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ*, Helsinki, 1923, passim); Holmberg, *Mythology of all Races*, vol. IV, *Finno-Ugric, Siberian* (Boston 1927) p. 333 sq. etc.

4. Kramersch, *Emblems of the Universal Being* (JISQA, Dec. 1935) p. 158-159.

in cosmical becoming. (We must not forget that, according to Yoga as well as to Sāṃkhya, psycho-mental life belongs to the "Cosmos" and is but a product of 'prakṛti'). All the ascetical preliminaries which are found as a leading theme in all yogical, haṭhayogical, tantric and devotional texts, may be understood as necessary stages on the way towards the concrete, towards the sacred, the 'real'. It is a return of man towards the Centre; or, otherwise said, a restauration of the "Centre" in man. As every spiritual act—religious, mystical or metaphysical—is nothing else but a retrieving of the "centre," the placing of man in the centre of reality, the analogy between this ascetical itinerary of Yoga and the meaning which the faithful give to the pilgrimages to a sanctuary is not at all surprising. "An Indian temple is, built in stone, a journey to the world's axis, and the processional entrance through its gates is a 'ritual of entrance'"....

The journey to the centre may be done in many ways and if the yogin gives no more importance now to the pilgrimage to a temple, his technic is still a "substitute" of these visits; exactly as 'prāṇāyama,' at least at a certain period, was a substitute of sacrifice¹. And what we have said about the revolutionary, anti-ritualistic character of Yoga, should be understood in this sense: at a certain period and for certain classes, the Vedic ritual was no more efficient, could no more lead towards the 'real'. The attainment of the real was then obtained by other spiritual means: meditation, contemplation, devotion, mystical physiology, etc. But the meaning and value of this way towards the concrete could not be modified because it was a matter of the human soul's fundamental experiences. So we have been witnessing an increasing tendency towards a living concrete, often a "physiological" one (mystical erotics, etc.)—just as, in Buddhist iconography, the geometrical symbolism of the beginning has been replaced by anthropomorphical figures². It is quite possible, as we think we have shown in our book, that this violent tendency towards concrete and the "physiology" is due to the influence of autochthonous pre-Aryan elements.³

1. Mus, 'Bambodjur,' p. 315.

2. Cf. 'Yoga,' op. cit. p. 113 sq.

3. Coomaraswamy, 'Elements of Buddhist Iconography,' p. 39.

4. 'Yoga,' p. 284 sq.

The 'unification' of the body, of the breath and of the consciousness is nothing else but the first result of the yoga practices. The real ~~unity~~ ^{entity} of man is obtained through a homologation with the "Cosmos". Yoga just as other mystico-physiological technics, transforms man's body and his consciousness, from a chaos into a Cosmos. To go beyond illusion and pain, to become 'real' means emerging from the chaos and becoming "Cosmos". The yogin will have, last of all, to transcend also this "Cosmos" of the body and of his consciousness, but only after having realized it¹. Besides, the belief is old enough that man becomes 'real' only through a homologation with the Cosmos, that is with the stars, which "measure" space and time, creating thus the universal order 'ṛta'. In certain primitive cultures people used to tattoo their bodies with the images of the sun and moon so as to integrate themselves more efficiently into the Cosmos².

It is not only a matter of "magical superstition". Here, as in the superior cultures which we shall shortly mention, we find the same old, universal thirst of man for the 'real,' his wish for integration into a cosmical rhythm. The human body is a microcosm in the real sense of the word. It is also divided in quarters, every organ is connected with a certain cosmical quarter, a certain season, star, gem, etc. In China, the connections between the macrocosm and the organs, viscera, human virtues, play such an important part that these connections may be considered as a specific mode of Chinese thought. In geomancy 'fung-shui,' the liver and gall are associated with the East, the heart and intestines with the South, the lungs and small intestine with the West, and the kidneys and bladder with the North³. In Chinese alchemy, the connections between the signs of the zodiac, the organs of the human body and the metals, are specified⁴. The Maya connected the South with the belly, the "serpent being" organ with the East, the "white being" organ with the North, and "disem-

1. It is known that the characteristic of the yoga practices, and chiefly of Patanjali's Yoga, is to create another "man," more purified, more unitary, who, in his turn is being destroyed and replaced by another one, a superior one, and so on. Cf. my 'Yoga,' p. 77.

2. Tattooing with sun and moon on "male and female soul figures, for the temporary accommodation of the souls of the dead, pending the removal of the skull to a stone cist" (Hutton, 'Man', April 1927, nr. 44, p. 61); Madeleine Colani, 'Haches et bijoux', (BEFEO, XXXV, 1935), p. 335 sq. ethnographical parallels.

3. Marcel Granet, 'La pensée chinoise', p. 378 sq.

4. A. Waley, 'Notes on Chinese Alchemy' (BOSL, VI, 1930) p. 16 sq.

bowelled" with the West¹. The Greco-Roman world also knew the homology between the human Body and the Cosmos; the 12 zodiacal signs (macrocosmos) were associated with the 12 organs into which the body (microcosmos) was divided². In Egypt, each part of the human body is connected with a god. The 'Book of the Dead' (ch. 43, etc.) gives a long list of the tutelary divinities with whom each separate organ is assimilated³. Later on, the parts of the body are placed under the influence of a zodiacal sign⁴.

The connections between the winds and the cardinal points are known in China, India, Mesopotamia, Persia and the Greco-Roman world. Lactantius ('Divin. Inst.' II, 9, 9) and other later authors have kept the cosmological theories which were wide-spread during the time of the Empire. These theories connected: spring, east, air; summer, south, fire; autumn, west, earth; winter, north, water. Other cosmological systems indicated the following associations between the divinities of the seasons, the cardinal points and the Winds: Zephyr (Favonius), spring, comes from the west, rain; Motus (Auster), comes from the south, heat, summer; autumn, Eurus, which blows from the east; Boreas, (Aquilo) north, winter⁵. These associations do not always agree with reality; they are prescribed by the necessity of ascribing a certain season and a certain wind to every cardinal point. The Babylonian origin of these theories, firmly asserted by Jensen⁶, has been proved by recent researches. Tallquist specifies that in Mesopotamian cosmologies the cardinal points are expressed with explicit terms: Wind from the Eastern Mountains = east; Propitious Wind = north; Cloudy Wind = south; Stormy Wind = west⁷.

1. Donald A. Mackenzie, 'Myths of Pre-Columbian America' (London 1928), p. 244. Cf. Wallis Budge, 'Gods of the Egyptians' (London 1904) I, p. 482.

2. Sextus Empiricus, 'adv. astrol'. Augustin, 'de haeres'. 70, etc.; cf. Franz Dornseiff, 'Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie' (ed. II, Leipzig, 1925), p. 81 sq.

3. Wallis Budge, 'The Book of the Dead' (II ed. London 1928), vol. II, p. 176 sq.; Pyr. texts, 1309-1315, etc.

4. Warren Dawson, 'Magician and Lesh' (London, 1929) p. 60 sq.

5. Franz Cumont, 'Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithras' (Bruxelles, 1896-1899), I, p. 92 sq.

6. P. Jensen, 'Die Kosmologie der Babylonier' (Strassburg, 1890) p. 163 sq.

7. Jeremias, 'Handbuch', p. 147, n. 1.

Dr. Filliozat¹ has shown, too, that Indian physiology is built on a cosmology. The theory of the five 'prāṇas' is only an application, in the organic world, of the theory of the five Winds which divide the Cosmos; 'prāṇa', like the Wind, is a cosmical power. The identity between "breath" and the Wind is to be met with since Vedic times². This connection of 'prāṇas'—cardinal points is also very old³. The air "weaves" the Universe, and all creatures are strung together⁴. The same air is being "woven" into man, through breathing: "Who wove in him breath?"⁵...Physiology is worked out on cosmological schemes⁶; that is, that the same homologation of man with the Cosmos, the same realization of him on the cosmical level is sought for. We find, in other words, the universally human tendency to emerge from the "chaos," from the insignificant life, from the "unreal" and to take part in the "real" through a "unification" and a homologation with the cosmic centres.

The same cosmological system is at the base of Indian sacred architecture. The symbolic polyvalence of the sacred monuments is definitely proved, especially through the contributions of Coomaraswamy and Mus. Still, the whole religious architecture of India is influenced by the cosmological symbolism. A 'stūpa' is a closed Cosmos, with its four quarters, zenith, etc....The Indian temple is a perfect 'imago mundi'; it is, at the same time the centre of the Universe, "the cosmical mountain." The ascent of the terraces of Barabodur is a mystical operation⁷, similar to the contemplative ascent realized by the yogin in his meditations and spiritual "stages." Likewise, the contemplation of an image, "the assimilation" of iconographically expressed symbols has for a result, an 'imitatio dei': it is a mystical technic through which like in a yoga practice, the human condition is exceeded.

1. 'La force organique et la force cosmique dans la philosophie védique de l'Inde et dans le Vêda' ("Revue Philosophique," 1933, 410-429), especially p. 421 sq.

2. A V., XI, IV, 15.

3. Chândogya Up. III, 13, 1-5.

4. Bṛhadâraṇyaka-Up. III, 7, 2; Kramrisch, 'Emblems of the Universal Being,' p. 161 sq.

5. A V., X, 2, 13.

6. Although "mystical physiology," which we find in yogic and tantric texts, has no cosmological theory in its foundation, but a series of ascetic-contemplative 'experiences'. Cf. my 'Yoga', p. 228 sq.

7. Mus, 'Barabodur,' p. 406, etc.

Although the final aim of yoga is emancipation (*mokṣa*, *mukti*), that is to say the de-solidarization of man from the Cosmos, the preliminary practices tend to a perfect integration of the yogin into the cosmical rhythms. In this respect the part played by the moon through the whole history of Indian spirituality is significant, especially in the mystical physiology which is kept up by the tantric traditions. Reacting against the solar theories, Hillebrandt¹ firmly asserts that the moon occupied the central place in Vedic belief and cult. In a much higher degree than the sun, the moon is, in the Vedas, the Creator and Governor of the Universe. Recent studies have shown that lunar mythology and theology prevails especially in Austro-asiatic cultures, whose relations with India are still somewhat in the dark².

Tantra and Haṭhayoga have elaborated in a coherent system this homologation of the human body with the lunar rhythm. The "life" of the moon governs the whole of Nature. Not only are universal vegetation and fertility managed by the lunar rhythms, but according to what has been proved by V. Capparelli's researches,³ the hebdomadal cycle is recognized also in pathological phenomena. The moon "unifies" the Cosmos; the many cosmical levels, different one from the other, (the atmosphere, seas, rain, vegetation, woman, etc.) are ruled by the same lunar rhythm which "unifies" them. It is natural that this same lunar rhythm should be made use of in the technics of mystical physiology for obtaining the "unification" and "cosmisation" of man. Besides, the moon does not only rule the human body, but any kind of "mystical body". For instance the phonetical body, formed by the letters of the alphabet, has, with all races, a lunar origin and structure. The moon's phases do not only govern the organic life of all the earth; they create (because they "measure" and "harmonize") the "mystical sounds" and the alphabetical letters. The Scandinavian Runes have a lunar origin⁴. The Milesian alphabet as well as the west-Semitic one are in close relation with the moon's rhythm.

1. 'Vedische Mythologie', I (Breslau, 1901), p. 277, 313.

2. W. Schmidt, 'La Semaine Religieuse' (II, 1914) p. 294 sq., 303 sq. Carl Hentze, 'Mythes et symboles lunaires' (Anvers, 1932) *passim*.

3. 'L'ordine dei tempi e delle forme in natura', 2 vols. (Bologna, 1928-1929).

4. Wolfgang Schultz, 'Zeitrechnung und Weltordnung' (Leipzig 1924), p. 89 sq.

Stuchen¹ has successfully proved the relation between the series of alphabetical letters and the moon's phases. Hommel² shows that about 10 of the Hebrew letters are all at the same time, symbols of the moon's phases. Each 'statio' must belong to a sound³.

The same ideas are found with the Greeks. Each vowel is found to be connected with an appointed god and consequently with an appointed heavenly sphere; and through their musical elements they bring man into immediate contact with the spheres. It is easy here to recognize the "unifying" value of sounds which, all together, through their perfect harmony, form a "mystical body". Through the assimilation of this "mystical body" of sound, man integrates himself into the Cosmos, that is to say he adopts the astral, in fact, lunar rhythm. This resemblance between the phonetical "mystic body" (or the mystical alphabet) and the phases of the moon is lead to its extreme limits in a 'scholia' in Dionys. Thrac. which asserts that the vowels are directly connected with the full-moon, the resonant consonants with the half-moon and the new-moon with the mute consonants⁴.

The sonorous "mystical body" is sometimes identified with the human body, the 49 letters of the alphabet being connected with the somatic elements of the body. Stutterheim and P. Mus have drawn attention to a Javanese tantric treatise, 'Sang hyang kamahāyānikan', which expresses exactly the homology between 'stūpa-prāsāda', the human body and the mystical alphabet. Each letter is connected with a somatic element: "this being the enumeration of the letters⁵ composing the inside of the body, it presents itself as a prāsāda⁶". Three "mystical bodies" are superposed: the sonorous mystical body, the architectonic mystical body (cosmological symbolism) and the "human" mystical body (divided into 'cakras'). In some more archaic texts the homology between microcosmos (human body) and macrocosmos (the sacrifice) is still clearer. Each organ and each human physiological function is assimilated to a ritual piece: "...the intellect is

1. 'Der Ursprung des Alphabets und die Mondstationen' (Leipzig 1913).

2. 'Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte Vorderasiens' (München, 1904) p. 99 sq.

3. Schultz, op. cit. p. 91.

4. Dornseiff, 'Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie', p. 34.

5. Cf. Mus, 'Barabudjer', p. 66 sq.

6. The commentary, quoted by Mus, op. cit. p. 66.

the housewife, the heart-lotus is the 'vedi', the hairs on the body are the 'darbha'-grass, the 'prāṇa' is the 'gārhapatya', etc."¹.

The importance of the mystical sounds in Indian mysticism and iconography is well known, and it is not necessary that we insist upon it. The image of a divinity is obtained through visualisation of a seed-letter. The *Kimcit-Vistara-Tārā-Sādhana* (no. 98 in the *Sāadhanamālā*) describes thus the meditation preliminary to the "realization of the divine image," which the artist must express iconographically: "Conceiving in his own heart the moon's orb as developed from the primal sound ('prathama-svara-parinatam', i. e. "evolved from the letter A") let him visualize therein a beautiful blue lotus, within its filaments the moon's unspotted orb, and thereon the yellow seed-syllable *Tām*, etc."². The meditations on the seed-letters and seed-syllables are just as necessary for a "yogin" as for the "artist". The *Tattvārthasāradīpaka* of Sakalakīrti (about 1464 A. D.) contains precious details about the Jain 'dhyāna'. The second 'dhāraṇā' of the 'pīṇastha dhyāna' (ch.v) refers exactly to this visualisation of the seed-syllables. "The yogin should imagine a shining and beautiful lotus with 16 petals jutting out, as existing in the hollow of his navel. He should contemplate the 14 vowels and 'am', 'aḥ' as marked with the dot over the line as shining on the pericarp. Then he should imagine a volume of smoke arising from the curvilinear 'r' or 'repha' of the mantra, then a succession of sparks, and then a continuous flame," etc. More important are the 'padaṣṭha dhyānas', which are effected exclusively by using seed-letters. The yogin should imagine lotuses in certain parts of the body with a certain number of petals; and think of the 16 vowels written on the petals of one, the 24 consonants from 'k' to 'm' on those of another, and the remaining eight, 'y', 'r', etc. on those of a third, and then sit muttering and contemplating them³.

In these meditations the lunar number 16 is significant. The moon plays a capital part in the technique of the Indian mystical physiology.

1. 'Valkhānasasmṛtasūtra', II, 18. On the cosmological and ritual significance of 'maithuna', cf. *Rg Veda*, X, 184, 1; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, VI, 4, 3, sq.; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 6, 2, 10; *Āitareya Br.* II, 5, 3, etc.

2. Coomaraswamy's rendering in 'The Intellectual Operation in Indian Art' (*JISOA*, June 1935), p. 2 of the extract, Cf. 'Elements of Buddhist Iconography', plate X, no. 32, etc.

3. Bhandarkar, 'Report on the Search for Sanskrit manuscripts during the year 1883-1884' (Bombay, 1887) p. 110 sq.

Professor Tucci in a remarkable study¹ has collected abundant evidence on the lunar cults in the Indian practices and iconography, making special use of insufficiently known tantric texts. As one knows the goddess Durgā is represented with 16 arms, connected with the 16 fractions (kalā) of the moon. The pūjā, introduced by tantrism, is determined by the course of the moon. In the 'Saubhāgyabhāskara' of Bhāskara Rāja, as well as in the 'Rudrayāmala', it is prescribed that the pūjā begins on the first day of the new moon. The 'Rudrayāmala' gives great importance to the 'kumārī-pūjā' in which a girl symbolizes the Goddess. Instead of 16 brahmans, as in Saubhāgyabhāskara, 16 girls (kumārī) are used here, representing respectively 16 'tithi', and 16 aspects of the Goddess. The 'kumārī' are adored here 'vṛddhibhedena', that is to say in the progressive order of age, exactly like the growth of the 16 'kalā' of the moon.

The meaning of these lunar homologies is not difficult to grasp. It is not only the well-known relations between the Moon, the Woman, the Sea, the Goddess. We have to do here with a "living whole": the lunar cycle. The "life" of the Moon symbolizes perfectly the "unity in becoming"; for, although the moon appears ("is born"), grows and disappears ("dies"), she is still a "whole" and forms a measure equable for the entire Universe. The aim of the mystical practices and of the above mentioned rituals is to unify man, to place him in his own centre, in the "real." And a necessary stage, which is very important, towards this "unification" of man, is his homologation with the cosmical rhythms and specially the lunar rhythm². In tantrism and certain yogic schools, which have given capital importance to the homologation with the Sun and the Moon—that is to say with the cosmical rhythm—one finds the same organic relation (to be found also in other cultures) between the sounds and the stars. "The sun and the moon, in some of the Caryās, are further connected with 'Kāli' (consonants beginning with 'Ka') and 'āli' (vowels beginning with 'a') : ex. Caryā 11 (Kṛṣṇapāda): "Āli and Kāli, i. e. vowels and consonants, have been made into the anklets and the sun and the moon into rings of the ears"³.

1. *Tracce di culto lunare in India* (Rivista di Studi Orientali, XII, 1929-1930, p. 419-427).

2. Cf. Kramrisch, 'Note on Uṣṇīṣa' (JISOA, IV, no. I, 1936) p. 79-83.

3. P. C. Bagchi, 'Some technical terms of the Tantras' ("The Calcutta Oriental Journal," Nov. 1933, p. 75-88) p. 78.

The homology between the "mystic" human body and the cosmical levels, ruled by the Sun and the Moon, is specially obvious in Tantras and Haṭha-yoga. Consequently it is accepted as a foundation *sine qua non* of mystical physiology as well in Buddhism as in the Brahmanical tradition. As one knows, the most important homologations are realized in the realm of the two cosmical centres, the Sun and the Moon :

- (a) ~ 'ravi, sūrya', the sun, 'lalanā, rajas, piṅgalā', the right nostril, the river-goddess Yamunā ;
- (b) 'śaśin, candra', the moon, 'rasanā, śukra' (semen virile), 'idā', the left nostril; the river goddess Gaṅgā¹.

In 'Hevajra Tantra' and 'Heruka Tantra', 'lalanā' carries the 'akṣobhya' (śukra or the semen) and the rasanā carries the blood (rakta). The same homologations are found in an authoritative Brahmanical Tantra, the 'Śaradātilaka' (I, 39). Because the human body has two aspects, 'agni' and 'soma', the 'bindu' also has two aspects. The right portion is called 'sūrya' and the left 'niśākara', i. e. moon. In the left is the nāḍī 'idā', in the right 'piṅgalā'. Bindu is supposed to be the cause of creation and its two aspects are thus explained by the commentator of the Śaradātilaka : "the 'bindu' is composed of two elements, 'śukra' and 'rakta', of which the former has the character of 'agni' and the latter that of "soma"². Certain practices of mystical physiology, which are rather obscure, aim at the immobilisation of the two arteries, 'lalanā' (right) and 'rasanā' (left), and the passing of the breath through the central artery, 'avadhūta'³. This means a complete return to the "centre," the isolation from the cosmical rhythms, that is, from Time⁴, from cosmical Life, from existence. The yogin has obtained a perfect homologation with the cosmical rhythms, with the only aim to transcend these rhythms. The "conquest of the centre" is realized through certain yogic processes, which carried up to the head the 'bodhicitta' (the semen). But this "return" (of the semen) provoques a "revolution" :

1. Cf. 'Yoga' op. cit. p. 236 ; Shabidollah, 'Les Chants mystiques de Kāṇha et de Dohā-Koṣa' (Paris, 1938) p. 8-10 ; Bagchi, 'Some technical terms', p. 79. The mystical vein 'piṅgalā' is mentioned also in Vaikhāṇasa-smārtasūtra, VIII, 11.

2. Bagchi, 'Some technical terms', p. 82 ; Arthur A. Ewig, the 'Śaradā-tilaka Tantra' (YAOS, 1912, p. 65-76).

3. 'Yoga', p. 238.

4. "Svayamprāṇa devours Time," 'Haṭhayogapradīpikā', IV, 16-17.

the introversion of all the faculties of senses, and of the vital wind¹. The 'bodhicitta' returns through all the three 'nāḍīs'.

This yogic-tantric practice of the return of the semen is specially significant. It is nothing else but a "physiological" form of an universal mystical technique: the "breaking up of the level," through which a complete reversal of all things takes place. The suspension of breath—the most important yogic process—has the same function as the "return" of the semen. Through the complete suspension of the respiratory rhythm, the yogin ceases to be solidary with the cosmical rhythms and becomes "autonomous": he does not partake any more in the universal becoming. Breathing being the character sine qua non of "life," the annihilation of the human condition is realized through suspension of the respiratory rhythm. One must be reminded of the fact that a similar "reversal," a "breaking up of the level," equal to the suspension of breath or the "return" of the semen, explains the function of the Brahmanical sacrifice. The formula of ritual inversion: "all that which is divine, is the reverse of that which is human", is constantly verified in the Brahmanical sacrifice; the right hand of man corresponds to the left hand of the god, a broken object on earth is a whole object in heaven, etc. The "magic" of the sacrifice realizes this "reversal" through which the officiant "breaks up" the cosmical level and partakes in a reality unattainable in the human condition. The paradox of this "breaking up of the level" is obvious in all the three circumstances: the Brahmanical sacrifice, the suspension of breath (yoga), the return of the semen (tantrism). The sacrifice makes 'sat' (Prajāpati) coincide with 'asat' (the ritual objects), Being with Non-being. The suspension of the respiratory rhythm creates a same paradoxical state in the yogin: although he does not partake anymore in the human condition, that is to say, is detached from universal becoming, he goes on remaining in "life". The return of the semen likewise cancels the law of death, because through this act the human condition itself is annihilated. The "breaking up of the level" in the three circumstances realizes this paradox: it makes Being coincide with Non-being, 'sat' with 'asat'. This is the perfect form of the Indian transcendence.

1. Bagchi, 'Some aspects of Buddhist Mysticism in the Caryāpadas' ("The Calcutta Oriental Journal," February 1934, p. 201-214) p. 208.

The yoga practice, as well as the other techniques through which India tries to realize the absolute autonomy of the "soul," begins with the "unification" of the yogin's body and of his psycho-mental life. This preliminary stage is followed by a homologation with the cosmical rhythms, specially with the lunar one which plays a principal part in Tantras and in mystical physiology. The "unification" and the "homologation" aim at making an end of the biological and mental chaos of man, at transforming Chaos into Cosmos. At last, the final stage realizes the transcending of this "Cosmos," the "union of the Sun and the Moon"¹ (in the tantric and alchemical terminology), that is to say the definite abolishment of the human condition. This "abolishment" is obtained, as we have seen, through a "mystical" technique of the breaking up of the level, through a "reversal" which may be realized yogically (the suspension of breath) or tantrically. This absolute "state" is expressed through the paradoxes and the contradictory terminology of many obscure texts (Dohā-koṣa, Kāṇha, etc.).

1. It is evident that such an "union" abolishes the Cosmos, because it "totalizes" it, trying to obtain the "whole" from before Creation.

HINDU ARCHITECTURE ACCORDING TO TANTRASAMUCCAYA

By K. RAMA FISAROTI

I¹ Type, size and orientation.

Get a 'prāsāda'² built by artisans³, according to one's tastes—a temple, coming under the 'alpaprāsāda' type which has for its 'uttara'⁴ any one of the measurements beginning with two cubits⁵ and eighteen 'aṅgulas' and ending with fifteen cubits and ten 'aṅgulas'⁶ the increase being always by eight 'aṅgulas'⁷ and which, therefore, has different 'yonis'⁸, that possessing 'ekayoni'⁹ being built facing west and that possessing 'pañcayoni' facing east, or ¹⁰ (coming under) any other type ¹¹.

II. Situation in 'grāma'.

The temples in 'grāma' and the rest¹², situated in the part, beginning with īśa and ending with 'Yama', must have 'dhvajayoni' ('ekayoni')¹³; those in the other part must have 'gajayoni' ('pañcayoni')¹⁴. The idols installed in these must also have a similar 'yoni'¹⁵.

III. Yoni, 'āya', 'vyaya', etc.

When the desired perimeter¹⁶ is multiplied by three and divided by eight, the remainder thereof¹⁷ is 'yoni'; (and) when divided by fourteen, the remainder is 'vyaya'; again, when (the same is) multiplied by eight and divided by twelve, the remainder is 'āya'; when divided by twenty-seven, the remainder is 'nakṣatra', while the quotient is 'vayas'; (and) when divided by seven, the remainder is the day of the week, and, when divided by thirty, the remainder is 'tithi'. It is also held that 'vyaya' is the remainder, when (the desired perimeter is) multiplied by nine and divided by ten¹⁸.

IV. Various 'yonis'.

'dhvaja', 'dhūma', 'śiṃha', 'kukkura', 'vṛṣa', 'khara', 'gaja' and 'vāyasa' are, in order, the eight 'yonis' beginning from the east: of these the odd ones are prosperous and the even ones, adverse¹⁹.

V. 'Āya' and 'vyaya'.

An increase of 'āya' over 'vyaya' must always be secured : otherwise it is inauspicious¹⁹. The auspiciousness of 'nakṣatra', etc. must be known through the science of astrology.

VI. Description of 'vayas' (age).

Five are the ages—'bālatva' (childhood), 'kaumāra' (boyhood), 'yauvana' (manhood), 'vārddhaka' (old age) and 'nidāna' (death). Of these the last is not desired for 'vastus' but all the rest²¹.

VII. Height of the building.

When the 'vistāra' (breadth) of the 'dhāma' is divided by twenty-eight, twelve parts, fourteen parts, or twenty-one parts thereof or all the parts themselves, added on to the 'vistāra,' will be its height from the beginning of the 'pāduka' to the top of the 'stūpi'²¹.

VIII. The height of the 'adhiṣṭhāna' (basement) and the 'stambha' (pillar). In the variety of 'gehas', coming under the 'three rod type,' the pillars will be two rods in height ; in those coming under the four rod variety and the succeeding, the height of the pillar is to be increased by four 'aṅgulas' in order. The height of the 'adhiṣṭhāna' will be half the height of the pillar²².

IX.

The height between the 'udaya' (base) and the 'uttara' being divided by any one of the six numbers, beginning with six and ending with eleven, add to, or subtract from, the height of the pillar, as mentioned before, or the basement²³, one part thereof, wherever desired²⁴ ; or the height of the basement²⁵ being divided by any one of the four numbers, beginning with six and ending with nine, subtract one part thereof²⁶ from the height prescribed (for the basement)²⁷.

X. The breadth of the pillar.

The height between the top of the basement and the 'uttara' being divided by eight, nine or ten, the height of one part thereof will be the breadth of the pillar at the bottom, while the height at the top will be less than the breadth at the bottom by one-eighth, one-ninth, or one-tenth of the same. Such is the case with wooden pillars. If the same be a pilaster, it will be less than the wooden pillar by a half or a third or a fourth of its dimensions. The breadth at the top of the pillar is called 'daṇḍa'²⁸.

XI. Height of the 'upapiṭha', if built beneath the 'adhiṣṭhāna'.

Add an 'upapīṭha', the height of which may be one-third, or two-fifths, of or half, the height of the basement or one and three-fourths or two times this height⁶¹. Its projection (beyond the basement) will be one-tenth, two-tenths, three-tenths, four-tenths or five-tenths of the height of the basement, or it will be equal to, or one and half, or two, or three times, the 'daṇḍa'⁶². And this 'upapīṭha' must be beautified with its own 'avayavas'⁶³.

XII. The height of the 'padma' which is another element which may be built optionally beneath the 'adhiṣṭhāna'.

The desired height of the 'adhiṣṭhāna', being divided by any number beginning with four and ending with nine, construct a 'padma'⁶⁴ of any one of these heights below the 'pāduka'⁶⁵. This is in excess of the height of the building⁶⁶.

XIII. The various parts of the 'adhiṣṭhāna' and their proportion.

When the height of the basement is divided into twenty-four parts, three parts thereof constitute 'pāduka'; eight, 'jagatī'; and seven, 'kumuda'. The remaining six parts being divided into ten parts, three-parts, two parts, three parts and two parts thereof, constitute 'gaḷa,' 'kampa,' 'gaḷa' and 'paṭṭika' respectively. The last of these is to be decorated with 'makarāsya' associated with 'prati'⁶⁷, 'siṃha', etc⁶⁸.

XIV. Another proportion for the parts of the 'adhiṣṭhāna' is divided into twenty one parts, three parts thereof constitute 'pāduka'; seven parts 'jagatī'; six parts, 'kumuda'; one part ('kumuda-) paṭṭika'; two parts, 'galapāda'; half a part, 'kṣudrapaṭṭika' and one and a half part, 'mahāpaṭṭika' with 'vājanas' wrought in it, adorning it⁶⁹.

XV. Still other varieties of 'adhiṣṭhāna'.

When the height of the 'adhiṣṭhāna' is divided into twelve parts, four parts thereof constitute the 'jagatī' and 'kumuda' each; the remaining four parts constitute 'paṭṭika', 'antari', 'vājana' and 'prati'. Thus is laid down the proportion in (the variety called) 'pratyutpānnakrama'⁷⁰. In 'pādabandha', however, it is the same as far as the end of 'paṭṭika', while above it one and half parts make the 'antari' and 'vājana' each⁷¹.

XVI. The extent of the lateral projection of the parts of the 'adhiṣṭhāna'. The 'jagatī' may stand out beyond the 'mānusūtra'⁷² as much as it is high, or as much as will give the same 'yoni'⁷³. The 'kumuda' may be given a projection equal to it⁷⁴. The other parts 'paṭṭika' and 'ājya' will stand out

beyond the 'mānasūtra' all around as much as their height, or three-fourth, or half, or quarter of their own height according as beauty demands⁶¹ while the 'pāduka' also must stand out beyond the 'jagati'⁶².

XVII. The division of the surface of 'adhiṣṭhāna'.

Having constructed a worthy⁶³ 'adhiṣṭhāna' (as detailed) here⁶⁴ and having made it even by paving it with stones, properly mark out the divisions into 'garbhagṛha', 'antarāla' and external wall, as well as the 'madhyanādi'⁶⁵.

XVIII. The disposition of 'garbhagṛha'.

When the breadth of the 'prāsāda' is divided by numbers beginning with three and ending with fifteen, the 'garbhagṛha' may be given a breadth which may begin with two parts and end with eight; or it may be five parts, when divided by eight, or may be even half. Thus nine (breadths) are laid down (for the 'garbhagṛha')⁶⁶.

XIX. The thickness of the walls.

The outer wall will be one-eighth of the breadth of the 'prāsāda' and the other (i. e. the inner) one-eighth of the breadth of the 'garbhagṛha'. All around between these runs the 'nādi'. Or both the walls may be combined in a small structure⁶⁷.

XX.

Where again the 'prāsāda' is small, the length and breadth may be divided into five parts (each) and in the central 'pāda' may be located the pedestal; the 'pādas', surrounding it, constitute the 'garbhagṛha', and in those surrounding it construct the wall. (Or) when the same is divided by nine, construct as before (both pedestal and 'garbhagṛha' and the external wall) and in the two surrounding 'pādas' construct 'nādi'⁶⁸ (and the external) wall; and construct also in both the walls in the centre a door-way⁶⁹.

XXI. The construction of the drain.

The drain may be constructed at the end of the 'prati' or 'gala' along the 'madhyasūtra' running north and $1/8$, $1/9$, $1/10$ or $1/11$, etc. of the length between 'Soma' and 'Īśa' to the right. The length of the water-chute (projecting outside) may be equal to, or three-fourths of, or one-half times, the height of the 'adhiṣṭhāna' while half of this (length) will be inside the wall⁷⁰.

XXII.

The breadth of the water-chute at its base will be a third of its length and a third of the breadth at the base will be the breadth at its extremity.

Its thickness will be equal to, or three-fourths or half of the breadth. The water course will have a breadth which is a third of the breadth of the water-chute. It must be arising from the open mouth of a 'vyāli' and thus have a beautiful basis : it must further be adorned with such ornamentations as necklaces, wreaths, creepers, 'śuṇḍi', rings, etc. while its extremity must resemble the head of a cow²³.

Thus ends Part I—'Adhiṣṭhānavidhi'.

Notes.

1. According to the indigenous code of Kerala architects, the 'prāsāda-vidhi,' as laid down in the 'Tantrasamuccaya', is the most authoritative of similar texts (The Tantrasamuccaya of Nārāyaṇa, with the Commentary Vimarśinī of Śaṅkara ; Part I. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No LXVII). This subject is dealt with in the second chapter of the manual and it refers mainly to religious structures. It is proposed in the first place to give as far as possible a literal rendering of this chapter and in the second to introduce from this point of view a discipline into the study of Kerala temples. The translation and the notes are based upon the Commentary of the text, written by the son of the author himself, which may, therefore, be taken as duly expounding the author's view.
2. The term 'prāsāda' means a structure which pleases the minds of people for whom it is built, human or divine. Throughout this text the reference is always to religious structures and hence we may correctly translate it by the term temple and this term we understand in the sense of the Sanctum Sanctorum. 'Geha, dhama, vimāna' etc. are synonyms.
3. The term 'kāru', which we have rendered by the term artisan, literally means workmen, and it includes carpenters, masons, sculptors, etc. as well as 'sthapati, sūtragrahi, vardhaki' and 'takṣaka'.
4. The term 'uttara' means the beam which sits on the walls all round the structure. Throughout this text it will be noticed that the starting point of measurements is the 'uttara' or beam. This would suggest that in ancient structures the 'uttara' must have figured as the most important structural element and the convention of its importance is handed down

to us even to-day. This is an important point which we shall notice on a later occasion.

5. It would appear that the kind of cubit that our author accepts is the one with twenty-four 'aṅgulas', i. e. the 'mātrāhasta' or 'kiṣkuhasta'.

6. If we work out the measurements given it will be found that the total number of approved measures prescribed for 'alpaprāsādas' is thirty-three. Their peculiar names and their 'yonis' are set forth below :

No.	Measurements		Name	Yoni
	Cubits	Aṅg.		
1.	3	18	Mukkolpariṣa	I
2.	3	2	"	V
3.	3	10	"	I
4.	3	18	Nakkolpariṣa	V
5.	4	2	"	I
6.	4	10	"	V
7.	4	18	Aṅgukolpariṣa	I
8.	5	2	"	V
9.	5	10	"	I
10.	5	18	Ārukolpariṣa	V
11.	6	2	"	I
12.	6	10	"	V
13.	6	18	Eḷukolpariṣa	I
14.	7	2	"	V
15.	7	10	"	I
16.	7	18	Eḷṭukolpariṣa	V
17.	8	2	"	I
18.	8	10	"	V
19.	8	18	Ompatukolpariṣa	I
20.	9	2	"	V
21.	9	10	"	I
22.	9	18	Pattukolpariṣa	V
23.	10	2	"	I
24.	10	10	"	V
25.	10	18	Patimūnnukolpariṣa	I
26.	11	2	"	V
27.	11	10	"	I
28.	11	18	Pantraṇḍukolpariṣa	V
29.	12	2	"	I
30.	12	10	"	V
31.	12	18	Patimūnnukolpariṣa	I
32.	13	2	"	V
33.	13	10	"	I

Here then we have eleven 'pariṣas', beginning with 'mūnnukol' (three cubits) and ending with 'patimūnnukol' (thirteen cubits) there being three measurements under each 'pariṣa'. The 'yoni' is to be determined by the

multiplication and division of the perimeter, for which only one measurement is given and this would suggest that the structures approved by this author for temples under the 'alpaprāsāda' variety are all square structures. This is a very interesting point, particularly in view of the controversy that is going on with reference to the 'Nāgara' type of temples, about which, so far as we know, there is no need for any controversy. This subject we shall examine in due course. We may also mention one other point in the present context. Given the same measurements, we can locate the temples in other places as well but the 'yonis' will not agree. In view of this, the author's statement that temples, having these measurements, must be facing either east or west shows the need for securing for the temple the 'yoni' of the quarter. And in a large measure this is true so far as Kerala temples are considered. In other words, the author would divide the chosen site into two halves by a line running north and south and the sacred shrine may be located either in the western or the eastern half. These parts are evidently chosen so that there will be proper orientation for the temples.

7. The smallest type under the 'alpaprāsāda' variety is that possessing 2 cubits 18 'aṅgulas'. The increase in size must always be by eight 'aṅgulas'. Thus increasing it may reach up to thirteen cubits and ten 'aṅgulas'. Any of these measurements may be taken but not any other than this. As mentioned in note 6 we then have thirty-three measurements to choose from. Other intermediate measures are tabooed for the purpose of temple building.

8. The increase of eight 'aṅgulas' changes the 'yoni' of the measure. See note 6. Now the east has a 'yoni', namely 'ekayoni' and the west, 'pañcayoni'. If a temple is to be built in the east, choose a measurement having 'ekayoni'; and if it is to be in the west, choose one having 'pañcayoni'.

This increase of measurement—notice this increase is always the same and is specific—gives a different 'yoni' and this means a different location.

The question may be asked: Are we to understand by this statement that the temple must invariably have only 'ekayoni' or 'pañcayoni' and not any of the other six 'yonis', as set forth in verse 4? Since the aim of keeping to the 'yoni' is to give the building proper orientation, the same could have the third or the seventh 'yoni' as well. Why then this restriction? The

answer is to be found in an old convention which requires that the temple must face either the rising or the setting sun. It is a belief that the falling of the sun's rays on the idol adds to its vitality.

9. 'Yoni' is a technical term which is used with reference to the location of the shrine and its scrupulous adoption tends to give proper orientation to the structure. Amongst the many conventions that our architects have accepted in the matter of architecture none figures so prominently as the 'yoni'.

10. The other types of 'prāsādas' are 'jāti', 'chandas', 'vikalpa' and 'abhāsa'. The nature of these will be made clear later on.

11. The idea of the verse is that an intending temple builder may choose any one type of 'prāsāda' as it suits his pleasure, but from the greater details he gives about the 'alpaprāsādas' he suggests his predilection for this type. And such a 'prāsāda' must face west or east according as it has 'ekayoni' or 'pañcayoni'.

A question may be raised whether the adjectival clauses qualifying 'alpaprāsādeṣu' may be taken as qualifying 'anyeṣū' also. Though the text as it stands may admit of such an interpretation, the commentator, who is the author's own son, does not accept it; and naturally so, because the nature of the other types of 'prāsādas' does not admit of this qualification.

According to the commentator the authorities for the idea of this verse are 'Mañjari' and 'Bhāṣkariya'.

12. The expression 'and the rest' signifies 'pura' i. e., palace town and 'paṭṭana', a seaport town.

13. The verse lays down the general site of temples and their orientation. Assuming the village or town is a square, the temple may be located in its eastern or western half. Those in the eastern half have 'ekayoni' and will face west and those in the western part will have 'pañcayoni' and will face east. This statement is in consonance with a statement of the author in the first chapter which may be rendered as follows: "The site for a Viṣṇu temple is in the east and west (in a 'grāma', 'pura', or 'paṭṭana'); for Śiva in the north-east; for Durgā, in the north-west; for Subrahmanya, in the north; for Gaṇapati and Śāsta in the south-west; or all these may have a site in the middle".

14. The last 'pāda' of the verse would have it that the temple and the

idol installed therein must have the same 'yoni'. This idea is based upon the works 'Pāsupata' and 'Mañjari'.

15. 'Ātāna' means length, while 'vitāna' is 'vistāra', i. e., breadth; 'atāna-vitāna', therefore, means the total length and breadth, i. e., two lengths and hence the perimeter.

16. The original term is 'iha' which literally means here, i. e., in this process of multiplication and division.

17. 'Yoni', 'āya', 'vyaya', 'nakṣatra', 'vayas', 'tithi',—these constitute the six fundamental requisites, loosely called canons, of Indian architecture; and every building, secular or religious, must strictly conform to these, if it is to be in conformity with traditional architecture. All these centre round the perimeter; and this may be anything that the owner wishes to have from amidst the measurements given in the last verse. The exact significance of the various multipliers is not always clear, but that of the divisors is in many a case clear. Of these six, the most important is 'yoni', because it helps to give a proper orientation to the building.

Now taking the smallest variety coming under the 'mukkolpariṣa' we shall apply the rule. The perimeter here will be 11 cubits.

$$\text{'Yoni'} = \frac{(R \ 11 \times 3)}{8} = 1 \text{ (ekayoni)}$$

$$\text{'Vyaya'} = \frac{(R \ 11 \times 3)}{14} = 5 \left[\frac{11 \times 9}{10} = 9 \right]$$

$$\text{'Āya'} = \frac{(R \ 11 \times 8)}{12} = 4$$

$$\text{'Nakṣatra'} = \frac{(R \ 11 \times 8)}{27} = 7 \text{ ('punarvasu')}$$

$$\text{'Vayas'} = \frac{(Q \text{ of } 11 \times 8)}{27} = 3 \text{ ('yauvanam')}$$

$$\text{Day of the week } \frac{(R \text{ of } 11 \times 8)}{7} = 4 \text{ (wednesday)}$$

$$\text{'Tithi'} \frac{(R \text{ of } 11 \times 8)}{30} = \frac{28}{2} = 14 \text{ (trayodasi-2nd part)}$$

18. The odd 'yonis' here 'dhvaja', 'śiṃha', 'vṛṣa' and 'gaja' are auspicious. The idea is that when a building has any of these 'yonis', it is auspicious; if it has any other, it is inauspicious. In other words, when houses have the 'yonis' of the main side, it is prosperous. When they have the 'yonis' of the

corner, they are inauspicious. Thus 'yonis' tend to give proper orientation to the building in the chosen site. It may be remembered here that the approved measures have already been given and those measures, as we have mentioned, will give the 'prāsāda' a location either in the east, facing west, or in the west, facing east; that is to say, they will have 'ekayoni' or 'pāficayoni'. This view is based upon 'Pāsūpata'.

19. The term 'āpatti' is understood in the sense of loss or destruction.

20. Of the remaining four 'vayas', the first and last are 'madhyama', while the other two are 'uttama'.

21. Notice the height here prescribed is the height from the 'pāduka' to the extremity of the 'stūpi'. This verse is only a paraphrase of the idea in the 'Nibandhana'.

22. The statement of the height of the pillar and that of the basement for the varieties beginning with the 3 rod variety and ending with the 13 rod variety will be as set forth in the accompanying table.

Type 3 rod variety	Height of pillar 2 cubits O 'aṅgulas'	Height of basement 1 O 'aṅgulas'
4 "	2 " 4 "	1 " 2 "
5. "	2 " 8 "	1 " 4 "
6. "	2 " 12 "	1 " 6 "
7. "	2 " 16 "	1 " 8 "
8. "	2 " 20 "	1 " 10 "
9. "	3 " " "	1 " 12 "
10. "	3 " 4 "	1 " 14 "
11. "	3 " 8 "	1 " 16 "
12. "	3 " 12 "	1 " 18 "
13. "	3 " 16 "	1 " 20 "
14. "	3 " 20 "	1 " 20 "
15. "	4 " " "	2 " " "

In support of this statement the commentator quotes the 'Nibandhana.' Such is the general rule regarding the height of the pillar and the basement. It may however be necessary sometimes to raise or lower these heights and hence the next verse.

23. The term 'māsūṛaka,' as it stands, may be variously interpreted. The interpretation we have given is based upon the view of the commentator. The addition or decrease mentioned may be made either to the pillar or the basement, for the result is the same in either case. Thus here we have a rich variation.

24. When slight variations in height are required, the latter may be

increased or decreased as per proportion mentioned here. The increase or decrease is to be made according to the desire of the owner. Note the word 'kvacid' is to be connected with both 'tyajatu' and 'yojayatu'.

25. Here the author gives us one more series of variations. Following the commentator we have taken the height of the basement from which is to be subtracted a fixed portion of its height to bring the temple to the desired height. Notice here it is only to be subtracted and not added. The commentator has given such an interpretation as based upon 'Mayamata'.

26. The reading given in the TSS edition in the last line deserves to be corrected as 'virahayedvāṃśam'. This will be in consonance with the spirit of the text and is supported by the commentator.

27. This then is a very interesting verse as it affords numerous alternatives. The term 'udaya' may be understood in the sense of the 'udaya' of the basement, i. e., from above the 'pāduka' or from the 'udaya' of the wall (technically 'stambha'). Assuming the height between the 'udaya' and 'uttara' is H , the height of the pillar may be its own height 'plus' or 'minus' $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{3}{4}$ th of the total height. This is the increase or decrease prescribed for the 'stambha'. Now coming to the 'adhiṣṭhāna', the commentator accepts the same increase or decrease for the 'adhiṣṭhāna' also. Compare the statement 'tathaiva māsūrake'. In the following part of the verse the author gives one more alternative: the height of the basement alone being divided by any one of the four numbers 6, 7, 8 or 9, decrease alone the height of the basement by any one of these parts.

28. It deserves to be pointed out that the pillar here described is apparently a square pillar. But under the same conditions it may as well be a circular or hexagonal or octagonal pillar. This proportion is also accepted in the 'Mayamata' and 'Mañjari'.

29. The interpretation here given is on the basis of the commentator. This verse is found interpreted in other ways also. According to one interpreter the height of the 'upapīṭha' is as follows: $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{2}{5}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, of or equal to, or $1\frac{1}{4}$, $1\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{3}{4}$ or 2 times the height of the basement; while according to another it is $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{2}{5}$ or $1\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{3}{4}$ or 2 times the height of the 'adhiṣṭhāna'. The new variations, given by practising architects, cannot apparently be made out from the text.

30. Such a projection of the 'upapīṭha' secures that the basement and the superstructure stand well within the same.

31. One vernacular commentator suggests that the 'upapīṭha' may have the same mouldings as those of the basement.
32. This element is called 'padma' because it will be of the nature of the petals of a lotus.
33. In the text of the Trivandrum edition the term is doubtfully marked as 'upāna (d'd) ante'; the correct text is 'upānahante'; 'upānaha' is 'pāduka'. This moulding, called 'padma', is to be constructed below the 'upānaha'.
34. It may be noticed here that the height of the 'padma' and the 'upapīṭha' are not to be taken into consideration when the height of the building is considered; and naturally so; for these parts below the 'adhiṣṭhāna' need not be necessarily constructed.
35. 'Paṭṭika' is the topmost moulding of the 'adhiṣṭhāna.' This therefore comes to be associated with 'prati.' The nature of the moulding is probably what is described. The moulding comprises the decoration motifs of 'makarāśya' and 'siṃha'. This idea is made clear in 'Kāśyapaśilpa.'
36. This proportion of the heights of the different parts of the 'adhiṣṭhāna' closely agrees with what is found in the 'Kāśyapaśilpa'; and such an 'adhiṣṭhāna' is 'uttama' and is termed 'pratikrama' according to this work.
37. The proportion here described is based upon the statement in the 'Mañjari'. This has no name associated with it.
38. The proportion here given is according to the author of the 'Mañjari' who calls it 'pratikrama'. It is here termed 'pratyutpannakrama'. It may be noticed that the 'Kāśyapaśilpa' gives this nomenclature to the first of the varieties described: See note 36. Thus here is a clear instance of how the Kerala architects have differed from other authorities.
39. In the last quarter of the verse he gives us another proportion which type he calls by the name 'pādabandha'. In this type also he follows 'Mañjari'.
40. The expression 'mānasūtra' is composed of two words 'māna', meaning measure, and 'sūtra' meaning thread, i. e., the instrument of measure. The term means the fundamental area of the structure composed of the length and breadth of the 'uttara'; and this is the extent of the 'uttara'. In other words, the 'jagati' may stand beyond the 'uttara' as much as it is high.
41. The interpretation we have given here is based upon the commentator.

The term 'aya' means 'yonī'. Thus he gives two measurements for the projection of the 'jagati'.

42. That is, the projection will be equal to the projection of the 'jagati'.

43. The expression 'śobhānurūpa', as we have rendered it, is very literal ; but we believe the real idea is 'as taste demands.'

44. The whole idea of giving the various parts of the 'adhiṣṭhāna' their fixed lateral projection is to get the 'uttara' well within the topmost part of the 'adhiṣṭhāna'.

45. The expression 'anurūpa' is to be understood in the sense of proper, i. e., being consistent with the nature of the 'prāsāda'. This is suggestive of the fact that if the temple is to be richly decorated, the 'adhiṣṭhāna' also must be decorated properly.

46. The term 'iha' is interpreted by the commentator in the sense 'as detailed here'. He suggests that the same may be constructed in other forms also, as approved by other authorities.

47. The idea of the verse is very clear. The last stage in the construction of the 'adhiṣṭhāna' is to make the latter firm by filling it and paving it with stones, thus securing an even level. The top surface of the 'adhiṣṭhāna' having been made very even, mark out the portion which is to form the 'garbhagṛha', 'antarāla' and 'madhyanāḍī'.

48. The nine divisions are the following, $2/3$, $3/5$, $4/7$, $5/9$, $6/11$, $7/13$, $8/15$ or $5/8$ or $1/2$. This proportion that is given here is based upon the 'Nibandhana'. It may be noticed here that because the breadth alone is given, it has to be assumed that the 'garbhagṛha' is always square. The writer understands from a practising architect that the latter is always square irrespective of the shape of the edifice (square, hexagonal, octagonal or circular).

49. This statement is based upon the 'Mañjari'.

50. The term 'vithikā' means 'nāḍī', i. e. passage.

51. Here are given two alternatives the dispositions of which are easily visualized.

52. One ought to notice the difference between the drain and the water-chute. The former is an open or closed channel within the walls finally ending in the water-chute and runs along the top of the 'adhiṣṭhāna' to the water-chute fixed in the wall. This is a long spout open at the top kept in position by half of it being fixed in the wall and the other half projecting

out, so that the water is thrown off away from the base of the basement. Notice the position of the water-drain within the enclosure. Notice the drain is always in the north, that is, water is emptied northwards. It does not run along the centre south-north line; but is moved slightly to the east. Why should it not be right in the centre? The significance of this is not very clear.

53. The water-chute here described is a rectangular one, tapering towards the outer extremity. Instances are not rare where it is round or facettled. Of course such a shape is not prohibited. That is probably the reason why only the 'vistāra' of the same is given and not any other measure. Here as well as in other cases, we find that the author is describing only regular square or rectangular shapes. Have we here a suggestion that the circular or many faced shapes are but a development from the square shapes? It need scarcely be said that many variations occur in shape, but the proportion between the length and breadth must always be kept.



DAKṢIṆA-CITRA

By ST. KRAMRISCH

When a royal patron in a rock-cut inscription speaks of 'dakṣiṇa-citra,' (the art of the south), there must have been an awareness then of a distinctive aspect of art in south India. Mahendravarman I had his explicit words engraved into the rock¹. They confirm the evidence of sculptures and paintings in south India. These do not however form a school in the sense that they would have specialised in any, or altogether differed from, such aspects as northern Indian art for instance offers. On the contrary, the elements of wide range which go to make the works in the north are also present in the south. Only their ratio varies and makes them locally distinguishable. Mahendravarman I had compiled 'dakṣiṇa-citra' which was a commentary only on a standard work on the subject and it followed strictly the methods and rules laid down for such a work. It is not an independent treatise about a self-contained subject of which he speaks in the Māmaṇḍūr inscription, but only of an application, within the possibilities of the standard work.

In fact, the few and scantily preserved works brought together in this paper, barring certain physiognomical, etc., conventions of the figures in the paintings, do not hold any quality which is not to be found also in paintings elsewhere in India and at different periods. The ratio only of the intermingling of these qualities gives them a stamp by which they are localized. Marked by that stamp, the varied features commingle and

1. Māmaṇḍūr inscription of Mahendravarman I, Line 11.

"...kalpāt pravibhaṣya...vṛttiṁ dakṣiṇa-citrakhyam (kāra) yitvā yathāvidhi".

*Classifying (the subject) from (an old standard) Kalpa (i. e. work on the subject) he caused to be compiled a commentary (vṛtti) called Dakṣiṇa-citra (i. e. south Indian art or painting) following strictly the methods and the rules laid down for such work". Cf. T. N. Ramachandran, "The Royal artist Mahendravarman I", *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, vol. VII p. 235.



co-exist in the paintings in south India first known hitherto from the age of Mahendravarman I, i. e. from the first quarter of the seventh century A. D. and associated historically with the Pallava, and later on with the Cola dynasties.

The wall paintings in the caves at Śittanāvāśal in Pudukkōṭṭai State¹ and at Tirumalaipuram², on the walls of the stone-built temples of the Kailāsanātha in Conjeevaram³, in the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tanjore⁴, at Nārttāmālai in Pudukkōṭṭai State⁵, on the brick-built walls in front affixed to the caves (and also on the walls of the latter) at Tirumalai in North Arcot⁶, and at Tiruparuttikunṇam (Conjeevaram)⁷ extend from Tirumalai and Conjeevaram into Tinnevely District and over seven centuries approximately in time. Śittanāvāśal and Tirumalai were sanctuaries of the Digambara Jains, the temples at Conjeevaram, Tanjore and Nārttāmālai were Śaiva. The paintings are distinguished by their iconography and this does not commit them to any exclusive use of one or the other of the several modes of execution, in which on the contrary, they share. The dates of the paintings are : Śittanāvāśal, first quarter of the seventh century ; Kailāsanātha temple, Conjeevaram, last decade of the seventh century ;

1. Jouveau-Dubreuil, Pallava Painting, *Indian Antiquary*, LII, pp. 45-47. The lotus pond panel does not, as stated there, occupy the whole ceiling of the verandah. The only authentic reproduction of part of the lotus tank panel has been published by Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, 2nd ed. Pl. L. Useful outline sketches are published by Longhurst, in *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. VI, p. 44 ; cf. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* 1930, pp. 11-13 ; the "copies" in N. C. Mehta, "Studies in Indian Painting" are incompetent ; see also the identification, *ibid.* p. 11.

2. C. Sivaramamurti, Note on the paintings at Tirumalaipuram, *JISOA*, vol. IV, p. 72-75 Pl. XIII. Copies.

3. C. Sivaramamurti, *JOR*, Madras, 1937 ; with an useful outline drawing in support of Sivaramamurti's proper identification of the Somakamda group painted in the Kailāsanātha temple.

4. S. K. Govindaswami, The Frescoes of the Bṛhadīśvara Temple, Tanjore, *Journal of the Annamalai University*, vol. II, p. 1 ff. ; S. K. Govindaswami, Cola Painting, *JISOA*, vol. II, p. 73-81. O. C. Ganguly, Discovery of Cola frescoes in Tanjore, *Indian Art and Letters* 1935, p. 83.

5. Reference to these paintings has been made by Prof. Vogel, 'The discovery of frescoes in south Indian temples', *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1931 p. 17 ; see also Venkataranga Raju, Cola temples in Pudukkōṭṭai, in the present issue of *JISOA*, p. 87, Footnote, where a wrong date is assigned to the one painting described (cf. Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 1). Of the paintings at Malayadipatti, no satisfactory photographs could as yet be secured. They are therefore omitted from the present article.

6. Vincent Smith, *A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, 1st ed. p. 344 ; T. N. Ramachandran, Tiruparuttikunṇam and its temples, p. 52, Footnote.

7. Tiruparuttikunṇam, op. cit. Pls. VI and VII ; R. assigns a very late date to these paintings ; St. Kramrisch, *A Survey of Painting in the Deccan*, p. 107.

Bṛhadiśvara temple, Tanjore, and Vijayālaya Colīśvara temple, Nārttāmalai¹, about eleventh century (see below); in Tirumalai a number of inscriptions range from the tenth to the fourteenth century². The latter date is also that of the earlier layer of paintings at Tiruperuttikuṇṇam³.

Caves and structural temples were painted as soon as they were built; in most of the monuments the paintings are co-eval with the buildings or with the excavation of the sanctuaries of which they formed an integral part. It is only when either repairs had to be undertaken—the Vijayālaya Colīśvaram at Nārttāmalai was struck by lightning—that the age of the paintings has to be ascertained apart from that of their site, or else when there are more than one layer of paintings or thirdly when their style is incompatible with the age and style of the building or of other paintings in the building. On the ceiling of the inner shrine of Śittanāvāśal, in that part where a large painting of the 'lotus pond' conforms with the painting of the same subject on the ceiling of the ante-room (Pls. XXV; XXVI, Fig. 1) are two layers of paintings, and the upper, i. e. the later one is exactly of the same nature as that on the ceiling of the open ante-room or verandah where it is the only layer of paintings. In Tirumalai there are two

1. The temple, built in the ninth century, was subsequently struck by lightning and repaired. On palaeographic grounds the inscription (Venkataranga Raju, l. c. p. 74) may be assigned to the later part of the eleventh or to the early twelfth century.

2. The following inscriptions are referred to:

(a) Inscription at Tirumalai (NA) of the time of Parakeśarivarman, year 4; the earliest Cola inser. in this locality; it shows that the Jaina settlement on the hill is older than the time of Rājārāja I; ARE, 1909 II 51 cf. 66 of 1907, SII iii 97.

(b) Year 18 of Kannaśadeva, lamp for the Yakṣa on the Tirumalai at Vaigāvūr by a servant of Gangamādevī, queen of Kannaśadeva-*prtiṣṭhagamiyaz*. 65 of 1907.

(c) Year 16 of Rājārāja I; 1) A Cera queen of Parāntaka II; 61 of 1899. 2) Tirumagal-pola. (Copy in year 40 of Vira Naraśiṅga Yādavaśiṅga by Deśāntari Tiruppullāpāḍāna who rebuilt the temple)

61 of 1899; SII iv, 293.

(d) Year 21 of Rājārāja I (a verse recording construction of a shrine); SII, l. 66.

(e) Ep. Ind. IX pp. 229-236, inser. of Rajendra Cola I, engraved near rock-cut Jain fig; year 1025, i. e. of the 13th year of Rajendra Coladeva; R. Sewell (ed). S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 64 gives the year 1023 corresponding to the 13th year of Rajendra Cola.

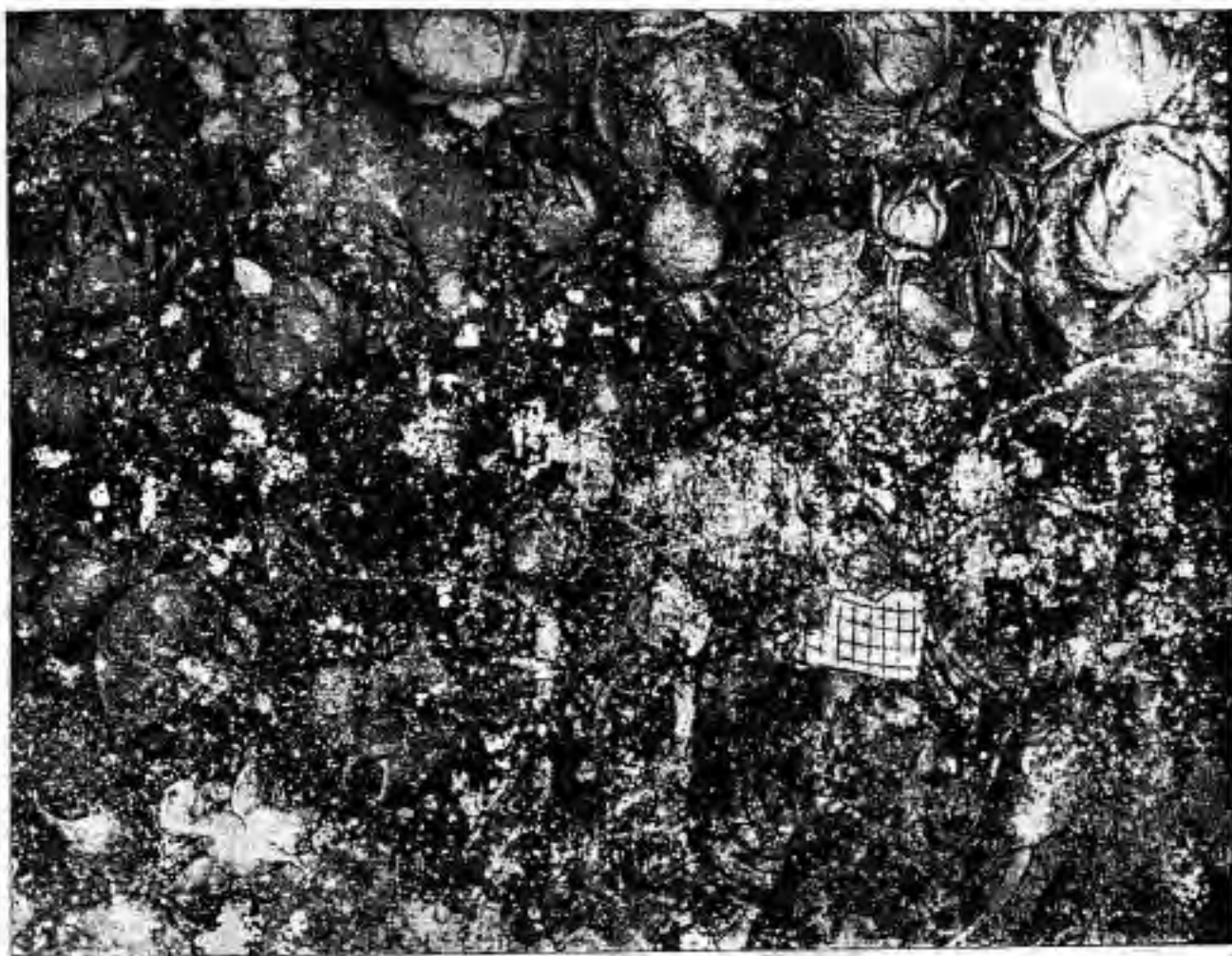
(f) Year 7 of Parakeśari Rajendra II (discovery of irregularities in maintenance of lamps endowed before); 64 of 1899, SII iv 293.

Re: inscriptions a—d, f; cf. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, The Colas, pp. 392, 444, 450, 496, 499, 507, 593, 622. In R. Sewell's op. cit. the following inscriptions are listed:

(g) p. 128: 2 figures of Yakṣas set up by the Chief of Tagaḍūr on Tirumalai hill. A. D. 1199; Ep. Rep. 1906, p. 74; 1011, p. 53.

(h) A. D. 1274...son of Kampana II; SII, p. 103, No. 72.

3. Kramrisch, l. c.



distinct layers of paintings. The paintings referred to by V. Smith belong to the first layer.

* * *

An inscription has been quoted (p. 218) contemporary with the earliest of these paintings, i. e. with Śittāṇṇavāśal, and speaking of the art of the south. Before dealing with the paintings themselves another literary reference may be cited. It does not specify the paintings according to locality nor does it speak of any of their several modes. It throws a comprehensive light on Indian painting in its own intrinsic aspect (svarūpa). This reference from a Jain text is of equal importance with the passage of the *Atthasālinī*, para 203, P T S. ed., p. 64. In this latter passage the analogy is shown between the functioning of consciousness in general and that of the Indian painter in particular. "The mind is itself a depicting".—Its process is a seeing without operation of the sense of sight ('avadhi', 'kevala' in Jain terminology).¹ It is direct intuition (pratyakṣa). In it (pratyakṣa) also the pictures originate and not in sense knowledge, by perception, which is indirect, the senses being a material accretion.

That the process of painting, i. e. of the coming into existence of a picture is used as an exemplification of the working of the mind, means that painting was seen to answer most obviously to the 'darsana' activity of the mind, as distinct from its 'jñāna' function. The Jain text alluded to above, the *Pravacanasāra*, and its commentary of the early tenth century A. D., 'Tattva-dīpikā', have more to say in this connection.

"Consciousness (samvid) may be compared to a picture. As delineable appearances of past, future and present things are immediately visible in a picture at one moment, so happens on the wall of consciousness." T. D. I, 37. "He who does not know simultaneously the objects located in the three worlds and three times is not capable of knowing even one thing with all its modifications". P. S. I, 48. "And, since absolute knowledge, evolving of itself, unending in its own intrinsic aspect (ananta-svarūpa) resembling a picture wall (citra-bhitti), serving as a locus for the manifestation of the

1. re. the *Atthasālinī* passage, see A. K. Coomaraswamy, 'Eastern Art', vol. III, pp. 218-19. The terms 'pratyakṣa' (and 'parokṣa') are here employed acc. to Jain terminology; it contrasts with their meaning in Brahmanism (and Buddhism) dealt with by Coomaraswamy, 'The Transformation of Nature in Art', chapter V.

2. *Pravacanasāra*, ed. A. N. Upadhye, 2nd ed. Bombay 1935; cf. *Pravacana-Sāra*, engl. transl. by B. Faddgeon, Jain Literature Society Series, Vol. I.

manifoldness of the discernible appearances belonging to all objects (padārtha) characterised by the three times....." T. D. I, 60. Simultaneous presence of figures and events past, (future) and present,—disjoint as it is only by everyday sense knowledge (parokṣa),—is current in Indian sculpture and painting. This is not only a convention of the craftsmen but it is the visible record of "the white wall of attention (avabodha) on which "all possible modifications, existent and non-existent, 'of all kinds of substances' receive their place at one moment". T. D. I, 37.

Reliefs and paintings by their own conventions have the same reference as the explicit words of the passages quoted. Such a coincidence is inevitable. It corresponds to 'nāma' and 'sthāpanā'¹ or to the varieties of 'maṇḍalas' which are, each with means of its own, versions of the approach towards the same centre. A 'bīja maṇḍala' for instance, is beset with the letters of the root syllables equivalent each in its place and in relation to the whole, with the images of the divinities which occupy in the 'mahāmaṇḍala' the place of the letters or of the symbols. (This refers also to the symbols of karma-maṇḍala).

The 'mahāmaṇḍala' is neither an illustration of the 'bīja' or 'dharma-maṇḍala', etc., nor are the latter abbreviations or labels of the former. All the varieties have their reference to the centre which they have in common. This is constant. The lines or colours which fill the surface of the respective circle in their allotted places appeal to the faculties of the various types of 'sādhakas' and to the preponderance of the 'darśana' or the 'jñāna' aptitude in their response (upayoga). Either sign, the written or the painted, are at the same distance from the centre towards which they lead with equal efficiency. The centre lies on a higher level than the surface of the circle on which the signs are written and painted. By analogy, the 'mahāmaṇḍalas' for instance allude to this by an overlapping of the squares inscribed in the circle and suggestive of the various levels of the total structure². The Jain equivalent, the Samavasaraṇa, is most frequently actually carved as a towering shape with several stories and the Kevalin is enthroned above all the regions (bhūmi).

All these devices whether visualized and painted, etc., or written, or

1. Sthāpanā means the "installation of the adored one in a picture, image, etc". Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, p. 74.

2. Kramrisch, *Nepalese paintings*, JISOA, vol. I, pl. XI, p. 140

else uttered in audible sounds and words, are signs. They give a direction, they show a way. The way itself however leads to the goal and, if we put aside the obstacle of sense-knowledge, we behold the goal in the way, the end in the means.

Viewed against the white wall of attention, all Indian painting is localized there. Being however but a 'symbol', i. e. something 'thrown or put together' it is a 'composition'; as a whole it is a symbol and not only in its particular figures or otherwise nameable parts. In the whole of it inheres the process of making the symbol. Process and contents conform. Its figures, or otherwise nameable parts cohere. They share at the same time in the inextricable 'nāma-rūpa' relation of everything that is manifested; their nameable aspect translates them into the realm of words and concepts. Their meaning, if isolated, is corroborated of necessity by corresponding passages of the oral and literary tradition. In their own context however 'svarūpa', their conformation is the result of intuition; and its visualisation is the gate of our insight into it.

* * *

Dakṣiṇa-citra then is a local, i. e. southern variation in agreement with the general Indian attitude. Its range is considerable and its quality unequal. Works posterior to the seventh century fall off the standard then attained. Different from nameable symbols which retain their meaning irrespective of the context and the modifications of their own appearance, 'citra', the visible result of the immediately intuitive functioning of the mind records,—in giving definite and specifically connected shape to them—along with the contents also their coming about. It is not of equal validity at all times and its fluctuations are obvious in the 'quality' or 'trends' of the paintings. If altogether efficient, 'citra' is a symbol in which are simultaneously "the objects located in the three worlds and three times." P. S. I, 48. The picture then shows the "immaterial, the supra-sensorial in concreted shapes (mūrtāni) and the hidden; the total...". P. S. I, 54.

* * *

Śittanṇavāsai, the abode of the Siddhas (Siddhānām vāsaḥ; Prākṛt: Siddhaṇṇa-vāsa) had walls and ceiling of the sanctuary and of the open, pillared hall in front, covered with colour, with painted scenes on the flat walls and with paint-covered images in relief of the Tīrthaṅkaras. The abode of the Siddhas, the liberated souls, is the highest place in

heaven ; prior to initiation, the Tīrthaṅkaras worship the Siddhas. Into this highest place in heaven, into the presence of the liberated souls steps the 'sādhu' or layman who has ascended the slope of the rock into which the cave is cut. It is the same as in the Buddhist caves in Ajanṭā. The paintings on walls and ceiling make up the closed world into which those who entered it were raised and where they were held by their own absorption. The devotee became part of their sphere in which his mind was staid : Enclosed and held by the inner space which is surrounded by these paintings, he is on one level with the figures in the paintings. On the same pillar correspondingly, and literally at the same height on two adjacent faces, one painted panel is occupied by a celestial Apsaras, dancing amidst clouds¹ and the other, on the adjacent side of the pillar which faces the path into the sanctuary, by a royal personage, most probably the Pallava King Mahendravarman I, accompanied by his queen and by another figure (Pl. XXVI, Fig 2)². These figures are painted from the waist upwards, in panels ; a third panel, also of an Apsaras dancing amidst clouds, is precariously preserved on the left pillar³ (Pl. XXVII, Fig.1). Scarcely anything is left of the paintings on the other vertical surfaces excepting scrolls and lotus patterns on the front surface and corbels of the capitals and on the front of the architrave above them, and it is on the ceiling of the ante-room and the inner shrine that the multifarious painted panels, of different size, subject and execution are preserved.

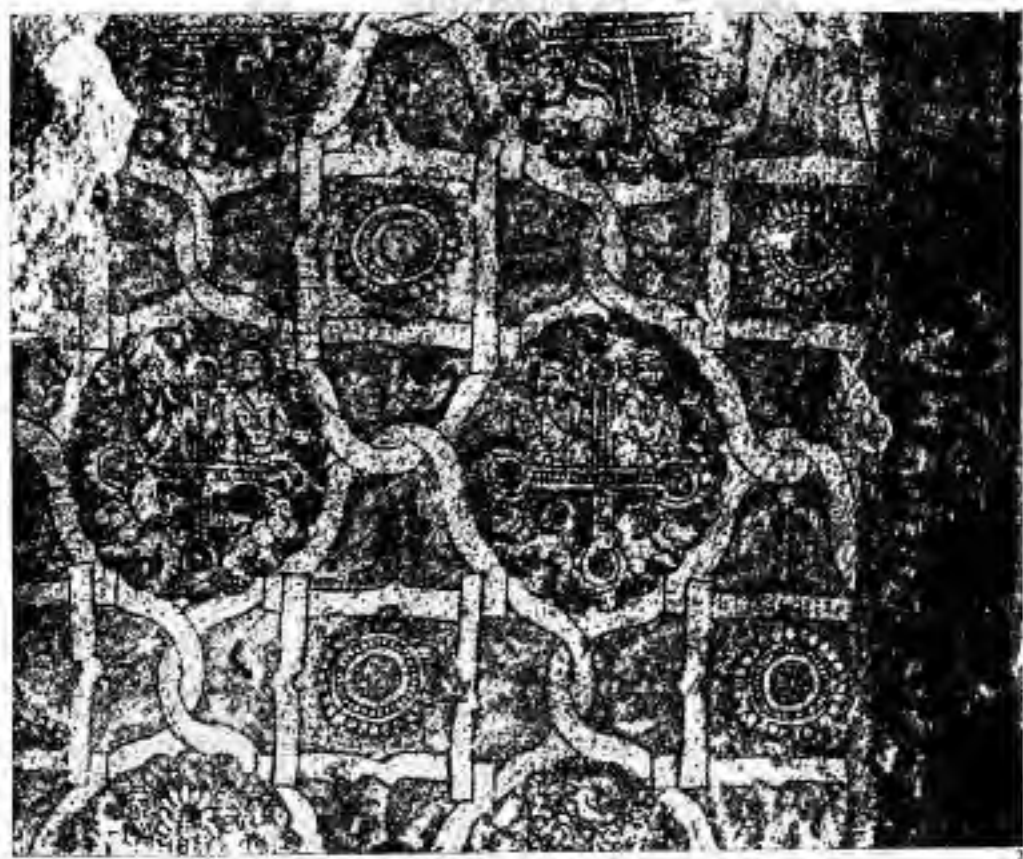
The open ante-room with its two square pillars is protected against sun and rain by a flat extension of the ceiling which slopes on its outermost edge only in the likeness of a roof. It is divided into panels which are either strewn over with lotus flowers or filled with the large figure of one 'hamsa' dissolved, but for the head, into a thicket of colour-

1. The technique of these paintings is not yet clearly ascertained. S. Paramasivan, *Technique of the Painting Process in the Caves at Sittampundi*, *Nature*, vol. 139, p. 114, considers them to be frescoes (*fresco secco*).

The same scientist examined "The mural paintings in the Brāhmiśvara Temple at Tanjore", *Technical Studies*, Vol. V, pp. 221-240 and came to the conclusion that these paintings were "true frescoes" (p. 234). Mohammad Saad Ullah "The Technique of the Mural paintings in the Bṛhadeśvara Temple at Tanjore, *The Current Science* VI, pp. 223-225 finds after examination that they are tempera paintings.

2. Only one figure next to that of Mahendravarman has been noticed in previous accounts.

3. The main colours in these three panels are light green and various ochres. Outlines deep red or black.



modelled scrolls. These panels are an introduction and abbreviated version of the three large panels into which is divided the ceiling of the ante-room : On either side a large panel with a glowing Indian red ground and freely strewn over with lotus blooms of green colour, and small white starry flowers in between. On each side of the panel, roughly in its middle, is the major part of a large green disc, as if emerging from its side, with a large lotus bud, white, shaded russet towards the edges of each petal with a black outline. Indicative of the centre is one whole green disc, around four such lotuses compressed into a star shaped device, and with an asterisk of a flower in its centre. These large lotuses are 'culled' from the central panel which is the largest of all, showing a lotus pond, the *Khātikā-bhūmi*, the region of water, the second region of a *Samavasaraṇa*, or it may also be explained otherwise (see p. 230). They differ from the daubed blooms, green with white scalloped lines for the petals and a dark dot on each, scattered at random over the surface of the lateral panels.

These two lotus panels on either side of the ceiling have to be seen in their situation in order to be understood in their meaning or function. On either of the two lateral walls of the ante-room or verandah is carved a seated *Tīrthaṅkara* image, the one being *Pārśvanātha* and the other overshadowed by an umbrella but without a cognisance. They are seated within a structure, throne and shrine in one, with plain profiles of the throne seat and flat posts for the shrine. Above each of them, on the ceiling, a cloth canopy (or ceiling cloth, 'ullova') is painted. A dyed or painted fabric seems to have been in the mind of the painter. He added to it the large lotus buds culled from the 'lotus pond' and shielded on the cloth by the large green discs which in the lotus lake painting are clearly meant for spread out lotus leaves. Such is the connection between the panels. It is not iconographically laid down as a whole. It combines however the prescribed data in an appropriate mode, for which the craftsmen, living themselves in the tradition according to which they knew their craft, were well equipped.

The paintings on the ceiling of the main shrine are divided analogously. On the back wall of this inner chamber are carved three *Tīrthaṅkaras*, seated, without cognisance, with umbrellas above their heads. There are traces of paint below and between their figures and on the umbrellas. Traces of plaster and paint are also on the carved lotus in the

centre of the ceiling. The painting on the ceiling consists of two panels, each extending across the entire width of the shrine. The one near the ante-room continues as a lotus pond, although without animals or human figures as far as it is preserved. It has already been remarked that this is painted here on a second layer, on thin plaster above a first layer, of which the design is contiguous in parts, and differs in others, from the paintings on top. There are distinct black lines and surfaces which meant a different pattern to that on the upper layer; this first layer must have been covered shortly after it was begun, by the second layer and shows also black, green, white and vivid red ('kuṅkuma'?) beneath the 'painted cloth' part of the ceiling which extends in a broad sheet above the images of the Tīrthaṅkaras on the back wall of the shrine (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 2).

It is clearly a painted version of a textile fabric with a figured field within broad lateral borders consisting of several stripes filled with scrolls, rosettes, etc. The colours of this textile canopy are Indian red and black which predominate and to this is added a now buff-coloured ochre, filling the black outlines of the design. The pattern of this large field consists of interknit devices of loops around a square. The square field in the centre is framed by a band on each side with a small triangular point in the middle of each side. These bands appear folded at the corners of the square, around the adjacent sides and, twisted at a right angle they extend further on and beyond the square thus formed. This makes a kind of double-curved handle above each side of the original square. Seen together, the four handles, each above one side of the central square, make another larger square with curved sides and standing on its corner; the original square is inscribed into it. The triangular deviation from the straight line in the middle of each of the sides of the original square is a convention to indicate the meeting of the actual ends of each piece of string or band of which such a pattern may originally have been made. The 'handles' of the single square are each again slipped into that of the next square (by passing the string or band through it). These 'knots' mark the four directions of a roughly circular device (constituted by the contiguous and diagonal curve of two handles—by the curved side of each of the 'lozenge' squares). It is also situated in the centre of a large square. The latter is marked by one of the original squares in each corner. This intervening circular motif has cusped inner sides of its surrounding band.

The entire pattern so formed is an unending one, unconcernedly cut short by the border. This purely abstract, unending pattern must be seen together with such devices as those on the Dhāmekh stūpa at Sārnāth of the preceding century and with one such pattern filling a roundel on the railing of the Barhut stūpa. These reliefs, on the Buddhist monuments invariably have the svastika for the nucleus of their varied patterns. In the painted Jain 'ullova' the cross in the square takes its place in a triple manner: if the large square just mentioned is seen as one unit with four of the small squares in its corners, the cross is laid between them, with broad arms; in its centre and surrounded by the 'circular device' is another, i. e. a small cross with circular ends, and of a special significance; the third cross is in the curved lozenge square standing on its point; this cross is shaped by the central prongs of four (now faint) 'triśūlas' each inscribed into the 'handle' above each side of a small square.

Two alternating subjects are painted in the centre of the two main devices of the unendingly interlooped pattern: 1. the small square holds a lotus, and outside the small square and turned towards it with their prongs are four 'triśūlas'; 2. the circular device, complementary to four lozenges of which it shares the sides, it has been said already, is cusped on its inside; cusped however are also the lotus blooms on the painted 'ullova' in the ante-room. This 'lotus' here (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 2) is filled in such a way as to make clear its special application. It has been stated already that a cross occupies it which ends in four circular, lotus-edged devices. Its shape is current on Āndhra coins, for instance¹. It is given its special Jain connotation in the Śittannavāsai painting by the two figures invariably seated in two of its quadrants, whereas the other two, below them are occupied by a 'simha' each. This arrangement holds good throughout although the figures do not always face the same way. It does not seem to make a difference whether they are placed from right to left or in the opposite direction in the different circles. The two male figures have their faces more or less turned towards each other. The 'simhas' face into opposite directions. They are however identical and so are the bearded men. They are twins and occupy two quadrants of a circular device in which a cross is laid ending in circles (lotuses).

1. Elliot, Coins of S. India; B. N. Campbell Tufnell; 'Hints, etc.' Pl. 1, 3.

A Samavasaraṇa is a construction made by the gods for the Tīrthaṅkara after he becomes a Kevalin and where he expounds Dharma and is accessible to all; a complete and simultaneous opportunity or 'point-of-time' (sam-avasara) for all the souls "to attain to dispassion". It is circular in groundplan, with 20000 steps on 4 sides; above these steps are four wide roads, provided with doorways.¹ At each gate is a tank with golden lotuses.² The Bhavanādhīśas made the lowest rampart of silver giving the impression of the serpent Śeṣa made into a circle. In each wall 4 gateways were made by them (Tr., op. cit. p. 335). At the sides of the north gate two Bhavanādhīpatīs stood (Tr. p. 191).

The Bhavanavāsins (Bhavanādhīśas, Bhavanapatis, etc.), one of the four groups of Devas are residential celestial beings; they live in the uppermost part of the first earth, Ratnaprabhā, in its middle. Their 'leśyās' (see p. 234) are black, indigo, grey and yellow. In the first and second 'kalpa' (heaven) their 'leśyā' is yellow. They are of ten classes and each class is distinguishable by its cognisance. Each group is ruled over by 2 Indras, gods of supreme authority in their group. The lion cognisance belongs to the Dik-Kumāras³, and to the Dvīpa-Kumāras according to the Triṣaṣṭīśa-lākāpuruṣacaritra (p. 382). The Indras of the Dik-Kumāras, (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 2) Amitagati and Amitavāhana, may be taken to be the 'twin' chiefs of the Bhavanavāsins building the Samavasaraṇa with its 4 gates and tanks, roads and stairs. The 'road' and 'stair' are merged in the painted pattern into a 'road' with an internal ladder design.

The centre of the small square on the other hand is occupied by a large lotus. The 'circle' of the 'samavasaraṇa' medallion has a cusped circumference,—like the tips of lotus petals, and the vicinity and assimilation of these devices is not only in the painting, but also in their inner affinity.

When the Lord sets out for the Samavasaraṇa, "the gods prepare nine golden lotuses of a thousand petals each and placed them in succession in front of the Lord. And the Lord placed his feet on pairs of them and the gods forthwith pushed in front the remainder (i. e. those on which he had

1. Tiruparuttikūṣṭam, etc. op. cit. p. 62, n; "The Royal Artist, etc.", op. cit. p. 244.

2. Triṣaṣṭīśa-lākāpuruṣacaritra, G. O. S. 51, transl. Johnson, p. 191.

3. Tiruparuttikūṣṭam, op. cit. p. 223.

placed his feet) (Tr. pp. 192-193). The symbolism of the lotus has been dealt with especially by Coomaraswamy and Mus. Its application in Jain iconography next to and ultimately akin to the Samavasaraṇa, is transparent. The action, on the other hand, of the gods of renewing the lotuses to be stepped on, by those already stepped upon, is a 'picture' which shows with the help of the lotus device and its reference to the setting out of the Lord, what has also been quoted in a context of a different order (p. 222). To this may be added: "The modifications which have not yet originated, and those which after existence have disappeared, are, although non-existent, immediately perceptible (*pratyakṣa*) to knowledge." (P. S. I. 38).

Surrounded by 'triśūlas' or, if seen to either side of the intertwining bands, by 'vajras', are Samavasaraṇa as well as lotus pattern. 'Triśūla' and 'vajra' belong to Indra, the Indra of Aśvina carrying a trident (Tr. p. 116), twirling a trident in his hand (*ibid.* p. 125); (cf. also p. 235).

The connections in which these symbols may be read are as manifold as are the ways in which the connection of the pattern can be beheld. Not ambiguous but polyvalent is the clear order of the design and of the symbols. The preparations for the Samavasaraṇa consist in the efforts made by the gods who build it and also by those who put lotus flowers under the feet of the Tīrthaṅkara on the way to the completed structure. Indefinitely recurrent coordination constitutes such a pattern. It can be cut short on any side and is not deprived of its meaning, or effect, for it does not end anywhere.

A similar pattern of a bordered ceiling cloth is painted on the ceiling of the Saṅgita maṇḍapam at Tiruparuttikuṇṇam (op. cit. Pl. VI, 1). It is next in kind to the one from Śittannavāsal. The Samavasaraṇa there however is abridged into a four-petalled lotus. The pleated band design which connects the flowers consists in Tiruparuttikuṇṇam of two varieties, one plain, the other with three stripes. The latter links up these pleated motives with analogous devices outside India, and frequently dealt with by Strzygowski. There is still another variation of this string pattern also in the Saṅgita maṇḍapam (*ibid.* Pl. VI, 3); other versions of the same type are on the ceiling (second layer) at Tirumalai, on the ceiling of the main Gopuram at Tiruvannamalai and must have been innumerable on woven fabrics which have perished.

The other part of the ceiling of the inner shrine is occupied by a lotus panel exactly corresponding to the main panel on the ceiling of the ante-room. As far as it is preserved or visible the former is purely floral, whereas fishes, 'makara', 'hamsa', elephant, cranes, bulls and human figures are amongst the thick growth of the latter. This painting has been identified with the Khātikā-bhūmi of the Samavasaraṇa in which the Bhavyas, i. e. the faithful gather lotuses¹.

The same subject appears in both the layers of paintings in the spandrels of the ceiling of the western porch of the Kailāsanātha temple, Elūrā.² It is common then, to Hindu and Jain painting. Its Jain interpretation correctly refers to the special 'bhūmi' of the Samavasaraṇa; it could however also picture the Ābhiyogika gods who bring the paraphernalia for the Jina's (Rṣabha) birth ablutions; "They take lotuses from the ocean Puṣkarārdha, from the lake Padmā,...on the other mountain ranges, in every zone, they took water, lotuses, etc., insatiable for them like the master's favour" (Tr. p. 119). The subject of the whole painting is a standing symbol, a requisite in Jain and Hindu painting corresponding to one fundamental notion and applicable variously.

The proximity of the abstract and, on the whole, flat pattern of the 'ullova' and of the richly figured and modelled lotus-lake shows that they were beheld in the same spirit and charged with a similar function, even though pictorially their antecedents are of a different order. The relation between the lotuses, crisp, dewy and full of sap and the abstracts of their full bloom on the 'ullova' part of the ceiling is equal to that of the svelte limbed, delicately featured Bhavyas or Ābhiyogikas (Pls. XXV, XXVI, Fig. 1) and the linearised version of the Indras of the Dik-Kumāras (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 2). The same refers to the bulls, etc. in the one, and to the lions in the other panel. The same applies to the composition of either. It must, however, not be overlooked that in the lotus-lake painting there is more abstraction than in contemporary paintings in Ajanṭā (Cave I, and the last paintings in cave XVI)³ whereas the geometry of the 'ullova' design is fluid with curves in the diagonal bands and enriched by the modelling capacity of lines and

1. M. Balasubrahmanyan, A Note on the Fresco painting at Śittappavāṭal, J. O. R., 1935, p. 81, identifies the scene with the 'parable of the lotus pool', Sātrakyaśāstra II.1. The identification is untenable exactly for the reasons given by its author.

2. Kramrisch, op. cit. Pls. V, VI.

3. Ibid., pp. 60, 61, 62.

vestiges of modelling in the figures. The wide-eyed Indras also have their counterpart amongst figures painted in Elūrā. They are however the earliest version that has been preserved and is known of this type.

The carved images of the Tīrthaṅkaras were also covered with colours. These have disappeared and their bare volume only is preserved. The figures in the paintings are different from them while they correspond to other more or less contemporary carvings for instance in Māmallapuram. The painted figures in Śittanāvāsāl differ from the carved Tīrthaṅkara figures of that cave no more than sculptures, for instance at Māmallapuram differ from the carved images of the Tīrthaṅkaras at Śittanāvāsāl. This refers not only to Pallava sculpture. The images of the Tīrthaṅkaras are distinguished from other contemporary work throughout the localities and phases of Indian sculpture and even from such figures as are carved in one and the same relief. If Buddha images are distinct by their 'lakṣaṇas', pose, etc., this applies to Jina figures as well. In addition, they are still further distinct even from Buddha images by their rigour. "The solidity of the osseous structure is effected by Karman" (Tattvārthadhigama Sūtra VIII 9-12). "Vajraṣabhanārācasamhanana" with joints firmly knit as if with mortise, collar and pin (Tr. p. 94), is the first and best variety of joints. It gives to the human body the appearance of a pillar (ibid. p. 97). "Only those who possess the first osseous structure, can attain liberation" (Gommaṣasāra, karmakāṇḍa 32, com; ed. J. L. Jaini). Of this solidity of the osseous frame also the fifteenth 'lakṣaṇa' of the Buddha is emblematic (cf. Emblems of the Universal Being, JISOA, III, p. 158). It is however merged in his 'body' and does not fix its entire cast, as is the case with the Jina images. In them the flux of curves stands still. Where the Buddha image is complete, the Jina image is isolated in perfection. The Kevalin in 'śaileśi' is marked outwardly by a complete absence of movements. He is not shown with any of the mudrās of the Buddha image, except the 'dhyāni mudrā' which is conclusive and does not address itself to the world outside. In 'kāyotsarga', whether standing or sitting, the arms hang down (Yoga-śāstra 4, 123) suspended, inert verticals,—as if attached to the body with mortise, collar and pin; cf. Tr. p. 133: "The Lord (Ṛṣabha) having a body with mortise, collar and pin joints, walked slowly, as if from fear of breaking the earth with his feet.



The paintings of Śittanāvāsal correspond to the reliefs at Māmallapuram. Similarly also such precarious traces of painting (Fig. opposite) as survive in the Kailāsanātha temple, in Conjeevaram, from the end of the seventh century, exactly correspond to the relief of the same subject. The painting of the Somāskanda group has its carved version on the outside of the same temple and is contemporary with it.

Subsequently, in the later Cola age to which the paintings at Nārttāmālai belong, the two modes of painting, as on the ceiling of the inner shrine at Śittanāvāsal, subsist (Pl. XXVIII). The linear type is comparatively more vital in its diction (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 4). The other has its closer connection with the early eleventh century paintings in the Brhaddīśvara temple, Tanjore. About contem-

porary with the Nārttāmālai paintings are also those of the first layer at Tirumalai (Pls. XXIX, XXX).

The walls of a brick built facade attached to the rock cut caves on the second floor, are still covered with paintings and in two layers, in parts. The older paintings are visible, on the walls of the last and outer-most of the five chambers in the upper story. On the back wall of the chamber, a large square panel is painted on a black ground. Framed by a double border on top, the inner one, a row of 'hamsas', with a 'kīrttimukha' in the centre, the outer consisting of festoons, and surrounded on right and left, and at the bottom by Devatās, of the Vyantara class, Kimpuruṣas, and others (Pl. XXX, Fig. 1) "who flew up in the sky as if thinking themselves like Garuḍa, some flew down to earth, for fun, like cocks" (Tr. p. 124) flying amongst clouds. In the bottom row Devas march towards the Samavasaraṇa (Pl. XXX, Fig. 2). Only its central and highest part is painted here, i. e. the Lakṣmīvaramandapa, divided into twelve sectors in which the twelve assemblies (koṣṭa) have



taken their places. In the centre of this 'on the third pedestal' is the Gandhakuṭi with the 'siṃhāsana', on which Mahāvīra is seated. "While the world teacher was thus seated the faithful were all able to observe that they were all able to conquer gravitation and possess the power of levitation....that their eyes never closed, that their bodies cast no shadows, animals that were naturally hostile became friends (Tir., op. cit. p. 109). The following Koṣṭas are discernible, 'pradakṣiṇā', in their sectors: (1) Gaṇadharas, saints of seven classes (2) Kalpavāsi Devīs, ladies of the heavens (3) nuns (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3) and women in general; the following eight compartments are not distinguishable as no nearer characteristics are discernible of the various classes of gods, at least in the present state of conservation; the last but one Koṣṭa is supposed to hold "kings, chieftain, men and other common beings, that move on the ground and in the sky. In the last sector the animals have assembled, of which deer and other horned animals, sheep, bull, elephant and tiger (?) etc. are seen (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 1).

The human shaped figures, as prescribed, hold their hands in 'añjali mudrā'; the people representative of the entire cosmos have assembled. The twelve Koṣṭas in the Samavasaraṇa show the ultimate possibility of the "twelve-spoked wheel of time, which is the basis of the law of time in the 5 Bharata and Airavata zones" (Tr. p. 93). At this moment it stands still, and its ineluctable movement, in the presence of the Kevalin is converted in the whole assembled world of the faithful, into their power of levitation; free from the gravitation of the wheel and its course they all share in the total and complete opportunity of being part of the circle of the Kevalin.

The Lakṣmīvaramaṇḍapa of the Samavasaraṇa may be seen as an ultimate possibility of the Buddhist 'bhavacakra'. The latter is painted in the verandah of cave XVII, Ajaṇṭā, and referred to in the Saṃyuktavastu.¹

Besides this relatively best preserved painting on the back wall, the one adjacent wall of this chamber had a large image painted which has decayed and is disfigured by blue paint recently daubed on. Amidst flowers and near to a trident, a Deva is seen, approaching (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 2).

1. N. Péri, *Hārītī, la mère-de-démons*, BEFEO, XVII, III, p. 47; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 299-300, Griffith, *The cave temples at Ajanta*, pl. 56 (cave XVII).

The ceiling of this chamber has two layers of paintings, the upper one, as stated already, a pattern of the 'ulloca'. This layer is considerably later than the paintings mentioned. It is of the same age as the paintings of the adjacent chamber (Pl. XXXI, Figs. 1-3), where however, especially on the ceiling, the older layer is also partly laid bare.

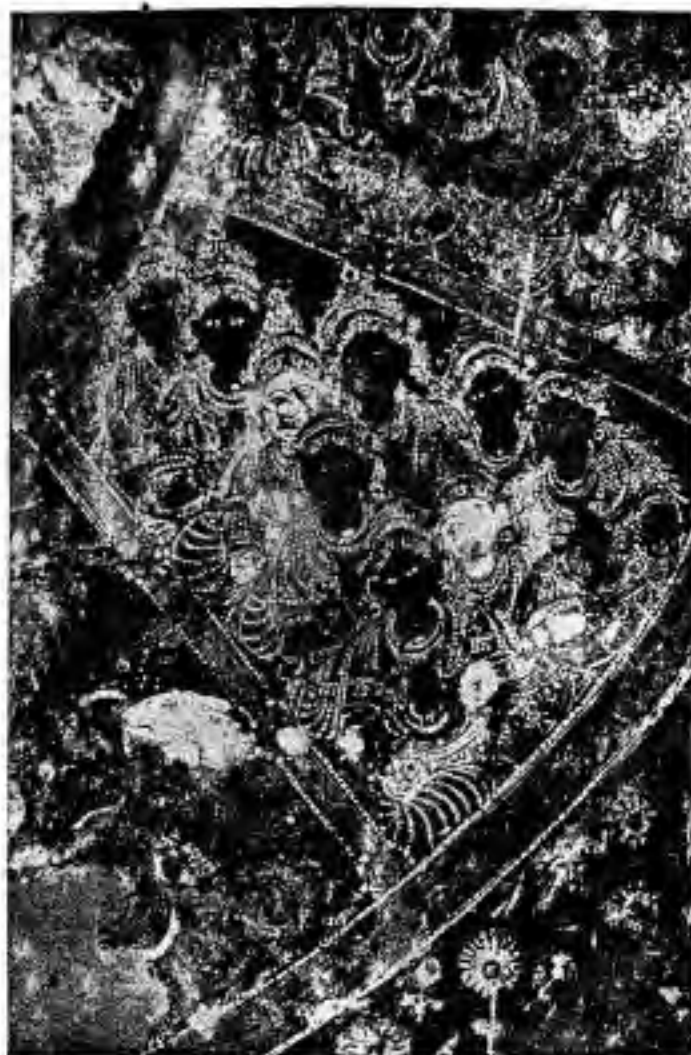
From the second chamber which is situated exactly behind the first, one has, on walking out, a small cella on the left, cut out of the rock, and completely painted. These paintings are also of the later period and consist of the painted 'ceiling cloth' and of flowers, white, yellow and red scattered over the black walls. There are, moreover, paintings on the outside of the brick facade and on the adjacent rock. Those on the brick wall correspond to the first layer of paintings and show in one case, a Tīrthaṅkara enthroned and accompanied by Yakṣas, and in another panel three large female heads. The large painting on the rock wall has the lower layer of paintings faintly visible in strong sun light across the upper one.

All the paintings in the interior are on black ground. There is much white, different ochres, terre-verte, reds and greys. Earth colours, broken and impure fill the outlines of the figures, and very little is left of the body-shaping luminosity of colour as in Ajanṭā, and also in Śittarṇavāśal.

'Colour symbolism' is current in Jain tradition. Symbolical colours however are meant to be pure and their ritual use is different from the consistency of colours in a painting. The 'leśyās', the different conditions produced in the soul by the influence of different 'karman', are not dependent on the nature of the soul, but on the 'karman' which accompanies the soul, and are, as it were, the reflection of 'karman', on the soul (Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, SBE, Vol. XLV, p. 196 n). The lower down in the hells, the darker the colour, black being the worst and the most painful (Tattvārthadhigama Sūtra III 3, ZDMG LX p. 287f)¹. The colours of the 'leśyās', are not pure colours (cf. "grey").²

1. J. Charpentier, *The Leśyā Theory of the Jinas and Ājivikas*, *Sertum Philologicum*, G. F. Julansson, Göteborg 1910, points out that the black (kṛṣṇa) colour is also enumerated in Śaṅkhyā as one of the six colours black, grey, blue, red, yellow white, (Nīlakāṣṭha, com. M. Bh. XII 10058, - XII, 280,33) but that the Vaiśeṣikas have no black (Annapābhāṭṭa, *Tarkasamgraha*, para XIX). They enumerate seven kinds of colours : white, blue, yellow, red, green, brown and variegated.

2. The 'leśyā' is but a reflex, painted on to the soul, and not an intrinsic colour (varṇa).



Apart from this application of pure and mixed colours¹, there is in Jain literature also a different knowledge about the nature of colour² when it is said for instance of a great flower garden that it was black...like a mass of mighty clouds, with flowers of the five colours (Antagaḍa-Dasāo, OTF, XVII, p. 86 and p. 4). This comes near the employment of the black ground full of flowers in different colours, on the walls of brick and on the living rock at Tirumalai.

Illustrations :

Pl. XXV. Part of lotus pond ; middle panel on ceiling of ante-room. Śittappavāśāl, early seventh century (cf. Pl. XXVI, Fig. 1). Colours : yellowish green : between black lotus stalks with black dots ; all the lower sides of the cup-shaped lotus leaves (see the one at the bottom) ; bluish green : all the upper sides of the lotus leaves and the 'discs' of leaves behind the single lotus flowers. Their colours are : light red ochre with parallel "modelling" of light yellow ochre ; outlines deep ochre, intensified in part by black. The two 'harpas' have the same colour scheme ; the 'human' figure is yellowish russet, with black outlines.

Pl. XXVI. Śittappavāśāl. Fig. 1. Part of lotus pond including a portion, shown on a larger scale, in Pl. XXV. The second male figure with the basket of plucked lotuses, is deep purplish russet. The elephants (only one is partly visible in this plate) are deep russet or yellowish brown, the bulls appear buff coloured.

The colour notes are descriptive of the paintings in 1937. They are in a precarious state. Particles of colour are flaking off, etc. Chemical analysis has been undertaken prior to their conservation.

Fig. 2. King Mahendravarman I and a queen ; panel on pillar on right, inner side ; the king's face has a bright yellow colour, the queen's is tinted lighter yellowish green, on the right proper of the king there is a russet coloured figure with a tight fitting cap or cloth on the head. On top, in the middle of the light green ground of the panel is a twisted device modelled light yellow and deep red.

Pl. XXVII. Śittappavāśāl. Fig. 1. Apsaras. Panel on front side of left pillar. Deep ochre ground. Spatulate clouds, yellow russet. Figure of Apsaras : greenish yellow, russet outlines.

Fig. 3. Part of painted ceiling cloth (ulova = ulloca), on ceiling of the inner shrine. In this part, the Indra's, etc. face all one direction only.—Two 'trijñālas' addressed at the 'knots' make a 'vajra'. The 'vajra' is the cognisance of the Śānta-Kumāras (Megha-Kumāras), one of the groups of Bhuvanavāsi-devas.

Fig. inset on p. 232, from Kailāsanātha Temple, Conjeevaram ; Part of Somaśkanda group with Umā, seated, the small figure of Skanda (only partly to be seen on left) and head of a Gopā. End of seventh century. The main figures are an equivalent stylistically of the relief of the same subject on this temple.

1. Even when used symbolically, black in Jain iconography is not necessarily associated with the bad and the painful. Black is the colour of Muni-sūrata, the 30th Tīrthānkara, and black with an inner tinge of lotus red is the colour of Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthānkara ; cf. Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, chart facing p. 5.

2. "The Devas, because they apprehend corporeal substances characterized by fineness (sūkṣmatva) have eyes which see the remote ; and so they too, because only seeing coloured substance..." (T. D. of Pravaśasāra III 34 ; op. cit. p. 177).

The relation of colour symbolism on the one hand to the function of colour in Indian painting on the other, has not as yet been investigated.

Pl. XXVIII. Paintings on walls of Ardhamandapa of Vijayākṣaya Colāvara temple at Nārttāmalai. Later part of eleventh or early twelfth century.

The walls on either side of the entrance and the two lateral walls of the Ardhamandapa have some parts of the paintings still preserved. The paintings on the lateral walls are between pilasters. On some of the pilasters paintings have been added at a later date. There are no traces of paintings on the walls of the Mandapa with the 'prakāra' (see V. Raju's groundplan, JISOA, Vol. V, p. 85).

The situation of the fragments reproduced is : Fig. 1. Mahākālā, in 3rd recess on wall to the left of the entrance ; Fig. 2 upper part of image of Devī holding 'śaṅkha', 1st recess of the same wall ; Figs. 3-5 on the opposite wall, Fig. 3 in first recess from entrance, Fig. 4 in second recess and Fig. 5 in the same recess at a distance below Fig. 4.

Fig. 1. Mahākālā (cf. Viṣṇudharmottara III 59. "This figure awaying is said to be of Bhairava while shown frontally it is called Mahākālā, cf. V. Raju l. c. p. 87). Colours : Mahākālā terre-verte, patterned bodice and 'mupā-mālā' bright yellow, ground deep red. All outlines, etc. red. Flying figure on proper right : light yellowish body, on proper left : Indian red and white loin cloth and bodice. The figure of Mahākālā has stylistic affinities, stereotyped as it is, with the earlier painting of Śiva as Tripurātaka in the Bhadrāśvara Temple at Coṇṣevaram (cf. S. K. Govindaswami, l. c.). Re. flying Gopas, cf. paintings at Gaṇeśa Leṣā, Hūrā.

Fig. 2. Upper part of four armed Devī with 'śaṅkha' balanced on finger tips of upper left hand. Type of 'karaṇḍamukuta', trappings of costume, treatment of decorated hair, etc. assign this figure to the earlier half of the later Cola period. This is also confirmed by the position of the 'śaṅkha'. Colours : Figure green ; red bodice, yellow and white ornaments. A 'cāmara' on either side.

Fig. 3. Face of god, green ; crown golden yellow, red lips, white eyes, black pupils. Outlines red, gone over with black. The head belongs to a minor figure in a large painting (in which the main figure had a red face. A 'paraśa' is visible above the green head ; these are not shown in the reproduction).

Fig. 4. Two rows of figures, flying (?). 3 busts are still distinct, two or possibly more figures are hardly visible. Colours : ground originally green, figures golden yellow with coarse red outlines, black lines in torque. White (a priming ?) is used for the hair ; (affinity of drawing the root of the hair etc. with later paintings in Ellorā (Indra-sabha) ; a yellow stripe with red lines between the two rows of figures.

Fig. 5. Fragment of standing female figures with hands folding before breast ; strong high lights on finger tips.

There are vestiges of other faces also in the panel, of which Figs. 4 and 5 form part. Much of the plaster however has peeled away and the painted surface where preserved has partly flaked off or has been rubbed, or covered with extraneous matter. No attempt therefore is made to identify the subjects painted in this recess.—Since I discovered the paintings at Bādami (JISOA Vol. IV. Pls. VII—X) they have been cleaned and protected by the Archaeological Department. Some more figures are said to have become visible.

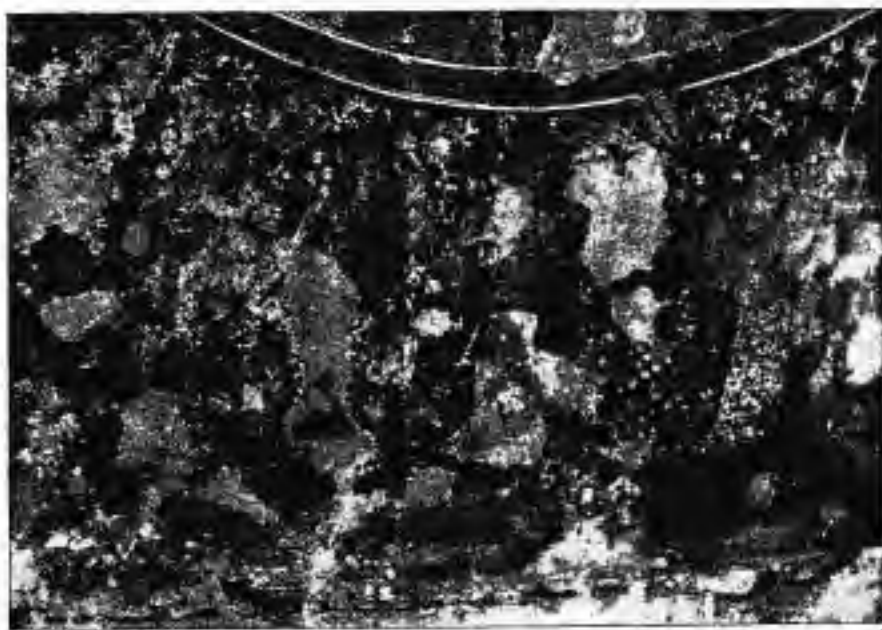
In the central recess of the wall, on the left of the entrance, there are unmistakable traces of a painting of Śiva Natarāja with flying locks and the head of Gaṇeśa in his hair, etc.

All the paintings, to judge from their style, appear to belong to the later part of the eleventh century or to the beginning of the twelfth century. They must have been executed after the repairs to the temple mentioned in the inscription (V. Raju, l. c. p. 87). On palaeographic grounds this inscription can be assigned to the age of Kulottuṅga I (1070-1120).

I express my thanks to Sir A. Tottenham, K. C. I. E., Administrator of Pudukkottai who gave me every help when I visited the monuments. With his permission I reproduce the photographs from Śittappavāśāl and Nārttāmalai.

Pl. XXIX. Tirumalai, paintings on brick walls of outermost chamber on second floor ; first layer of paintings.

Fig. 1. Part of Lakṣmīnara-mandapa, with three 'koṭṭas', i. e. the assemblies of 1). Kālpavṛśa-devas, 2). kings, etc. (?) 3). animals.





The ground of the painting is black, the main colours are different ochres and terre-verte. The ornaments are outlined red on white ground.

Fig. 3. The second and third 'koṭṭa', i. e. Kālpavāsi-devīs (disfigured by recently daubed on blue paint (see also Fig. 1) and nuns. The latter vary in complexion from light ochre to deep olive. They are covered with a white cloth drawn over the head. Their eyes, as those of all figures present, are wide open. The continuous band which cuts across their first row is made by their arms with hands joint. Tassel-like brooms are attached to the arms. Above on left, one of the 4 entrances of the Samavasaraṇa with an arched gate.

The Gandhakuṭi in the inner circle is only partly visible. The little that is left of these paintings may become more clearly visible after they are scientifically cleaned.

Fig. 2. A flying (?) Deva. A trident is to be seen near by (one prong on outermost left edge of the reproduction) suggestive of the presence of an Indra. Red, yellow, white flowers outlined red or black; ground black.

Pl. XXX. Tirumalai, part of Lakṣmīvara-maṇḍapa panel; Fig. 1. Outside the circle with the 12 'koṭṭas', and in its right lower corner, winged, bird-beaked Devatās (of the Vyantara class ?) with drum, (syringe ?) and extended arms, amidst clouds. The latter are streaked in various ochres, black and red, following in a modelling manner their flame-like outlines.

In this connection the following passage may be cited from the Triṣaṣṭīśālikāpurāṇa (op. cit. p. 61): "...After she had painted the canvas clearly, Paṇḍitā spread it out on the highway...Some who knew the scriptures praised the painted heaven, Nandīvara, etc. in it which agreed with the description in the scriptures. Other laymen, nodding their heads, described the images of the holy Arhats, one by one. Looking repeatedly with side-long glances, some, who had experience in the arts, praised constantly the purity of line. Others described the colours black, white, yellow, blue, red, etc. that made the canvas look like a twilight-cloud."

Fig. 2. Lowermost part of Samavasaraṇa panel, below the Lakṣmīvara-maṇḍapa: Cortège of gods; they are dressed in richly patterned, red, green, white fabrics. Two of the five figures carry standards (sugratiṣṭha 2) and the one in the centre holds in its arms a peacock.

The paintings on the first layer at Tirumalai appear to be relatively nearest in date to those at Nārtāmalai. They are however a somewhat different variation.

Pl. XXXI. Paintings of the second layer, in chamber at the back of the one previously described (Pl. XXX).

Fig. 1. Figure of a Digambara monk on a cushion seat and facing another monk (not shown in the reproduction) on the other side of the stand (sthāpanicārya). Figures yellow, cushions white with red stripes. Flowers, festoons on black ground.

Fig. 2. On adjacent wall of the same chamber: wall divided in three horizontal rows, with series of 'śādhvas', addressing a female (?) figure, who in the middle row is shown in front of a pavilion, making an offering of food (?) to the monks; a stand piled high with food is shown between them. In the row on top, two 'śādhvas' are seen addressing with 'upadēsa-mandā' the figure with 'aṅgali hasta', facing them.

The story told is fragmentarily preserved and can possibly be identified from the Puṇyāśravakathā.

Fig. 3. On the same wall as Fig. 1. Fragment of a four-armed, three-eyed divinity (an Indra ?).

The paintings of the second layer, appear to be earlier than the early paintings at Tiruparuttikēṇṇam. They seem to be midway between these and the Samavasaraṇa panel in the first chamber in Tirumalai.

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